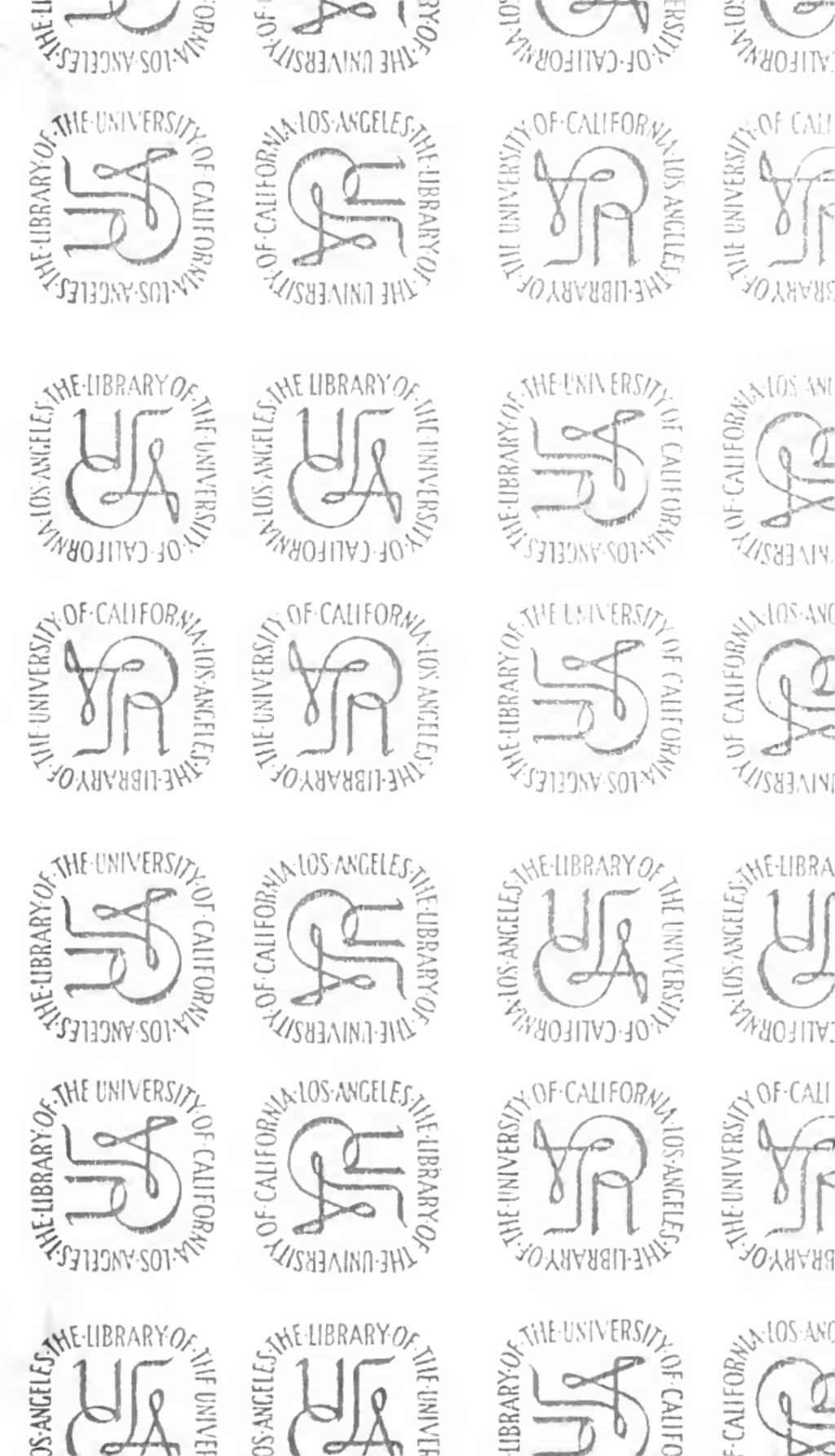
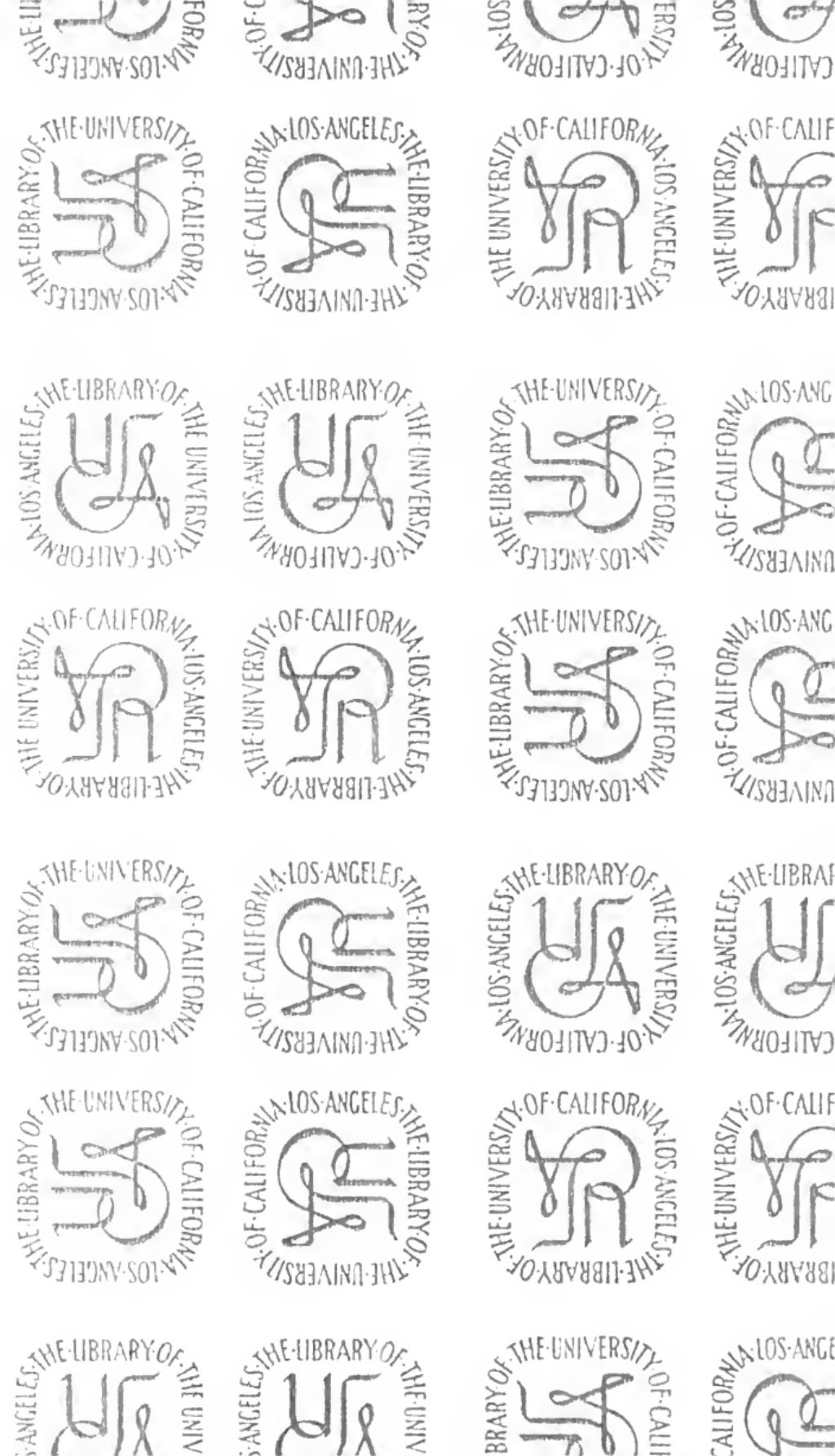


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THE LIVES OF THE NORTHS.





THE LIVES OF THE
RIGHT HON. FRANCIS NORTH, BARON
GUILFORD; THE HON. SIR DUDLEY
NORTH; AND THE HON. AND
REV. DR. JOHN NORTH.

BY THE HON.

ROGER NORTH,

TOGETHER WITH

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR.

EDITED BY
AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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T H E L I F E
O F T H E
HONOURABLE SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

THE Honourable Sir Dudley North, knight, was the third surviving son of the second Dudley Lord North Baron of Kirtling. The whole family relation was declared in a preface to the account of his best brother the lord keeper; wherefore it is here omitted. He was born 16th of May 1641; and the christian name of Dudley, as I have heard, came into this family by the means of Dudley Earl of Leicester, who was a godfather at the christening of the first Dudley Lord North, his grandfather. Why or how it happened that this name fell to the share of a younger brother, and not of the eldest son whose name was Charles, may be imagined easier than discovered. It is likely that in the reign of King Charles I., when the eldest was born, Charles was thought more honourable. But accident or commonly the parents' or godfathers' fancy determines names; and it may be thought fit that the latter should have something for their money.

2. He was a very forward, lively, and beautiful child, and thereby entitled to be, as he really was, his mother's favourite: for good women are most pleased when their children, being females, are like themselves or as they fancy they were when young; and the males, as the father was in his tender age according to the ideas they form to themselves. The unfortunate attendance upon the parliament engaged this gentleman's father to reside in London, till the more fortunate exclusion sent him and his family

to their better residence in the country. The London house was in King's-street, Westminster, and, though a sorry one, remarkable for being the first and only brick house in that street for many years. The chief airing this child had was with his attendant at the door where, by his forward familiarities, he had made himself known to most people that had to do thereabouts ; and nothing so common as his being at his post with an audience in the street to share his conversation.

3. But this over-forwardness had like to have cost him dear ; for once in a bustle at the door about taking coach, when a child is apt to press too forward, a beggar-woman passing by swept him away ; and after the coach was gone, the child was wanted. The servants ran out several ways to look for him, and one by chance found him in an alley leading towards Channel-row, in the hands of the beggar who was taking off his clothes ; so the child was recovered but the woman ran away and escaped punishment.

4. It fell out in the great plague that his father's house was shut up ; for he and a little sister, named Mary, had the plague together. His father removed because of his promiscuous converse ; but his excellent mother stayed, and with her own hands nursed her two tender children. I have heard her say, that once, feeling a swelling upon the little boy's head, the plague sore (as it proved to be) broke in her hand. This incomparable piety and courage in her was providentially rewarded, first by the recovery of both her children and next by her own and her family's wonderful escape ; for neither she nor any one else in her house had the plague. I well know by ocular inspection, that the gross scar of this sore was very manifest to be seen upon this gentleman's head all the days of his life.

5. But now to bring the young man to a grammar-school : he was placed at Bury, under Dr. Stevens ; but made an indifferent scholar. He had too much spirit, which would not be suppressed by conning his book but must be rather employed in perpetual action. With all that, his parts were so quick that a little application went a great way with him ; and in the end he came out a moderate school-scholar. But no thanks to his master ; for had he been treated with discretion, the goodness of his nature was such that he might have been brought

down to such an assiduity as would have made him an incomparable scholar. But, though from what stars it proceeded I know not, it is certain that the master took a great aversion to him and most brutally abused him ; correcting him at all turns with or without a fault, till he was driven within an ace of despair and (as I have often heard him declare) making away with himself. Among other instances of his barbarity, one was that the youth had been more than once whipt for faulty verses that he had stole out of printed books. This ill usage made an impression upon his spirits that did not wear out in all his life, but to his dying day he resented it. And he often spake of it in a kind of passion, and declared that he wanted only the satisfaction of talking to this man and showing where he used him ill, and had denied him common justice. Such a pleasure have folks desperately offended in venting their resentments.

6. This gentleman was designed by his parents to be a merchant ; but how early I know not, and rather think they had no positive determination but according as natural tendency and reasonable opportunity invited. And this backwardness at school and a sorry account that the master gave of his scholarship, might turn the scales towards an employment that needed less learning. But the young man himself had a strange bent to traffic and, while he was at school, drove a subtle trade among the boys by buying and selling. In short, it was considered that he had learning enough for a merchant but not phlegm enough for any sedentary profession. Which judgment of him was made good by the event.

7. According to this scheme, the next step was the being placed in London at a writing-school, to learn good hands and accounts. Where, being once settled in that way, he ran a great risk of being utterly ruined for ever. And if together with his restless spirit he had not had conjoined a manly reflection reserved within himself, and also a resolution of sometimes checking his own extravagances (which, not only in his youth but also in many important emergencies in his life, he executed by making short and sudden turns) he had been lost. The writing-school was a place of entire liberty : he might come and go as he would : he might learn if he pleased ; and as freely let it alone. But he minded his business at times well enough, and acquired amply what

he came there for, which was fair writing and accounts. He had his times also for making large excursions, and got into acquaintance as airy as himself, though not so well born or dressed : but he made small ceremony of that, provided they led him to sport. There was no bustling, busy diversion that he was not more or less engaged in ; yet in all his frolics and rambles about the town, he and his company steered clear of the vices of whoring and drinking, and followed such entertainments only as were very active, but otherwise (beyond the archness and waggeries of youth) not wicked nor indicative of a nature depraved. And it were well if the flights of youth, in this age, had no worse character.

8. One of his capital entertainments was cock-fighting. If possible, he procured a place in the pit ; and there was a rare splutter and noise, cut out as it were for folks half mad. I have heard him say that, when he had in the world but three shillings, he hath given half a crown for an entrance, reserving but sixpence to bet with. I presume it was with him as with others that love gaming : avarice was the grand inducement, and that inspired the adventure ; and the female, or rather lottery, childish argument prevailed, viz. others have won, and why not I ?

9. Another of his darling sports was swimming in the Thames. He used that so much that he became quite a master of it. He could live in the water an afternoon with as much ease as others walk upon land. He shot the bridge divers times at low water which showed him not only active but intrepid ; for courage is required to bear the very sight of that tremendous cascade which few can endure to pass in a boat. He told me that his method was to glide along while the current was smooth, which was like the motion of an arrow and extremely delicious ; and when he was through, and plunged in the disorders of the waters there, he used his swimming powers, that is striking with legs and arms, applying all the force he had to prevent turning round, which in those eddies was hard to be done ; and all this under water, till he got into some calm where he might govern himself again. His greatest danger was flooks of anchors, broken piles, great stones, and such enemies as lay concealed under water, and, in the speed he went, could not be touched without destruction.

10. He and his comrades usually hired a known porter to keep their clothes ; and, when they were all naked, as I have often heard him say, he was not at all ashamed of his company ; but when their clothes were on, he cared not to be seen with them. He hath told me that, having lodged his clothes not far from the bridge at early ebb, he hath run naked upon the ooze up almost as high as Chelsea, for the pleasure of swimming down to his clothes before tide of flood. By these bold diversions, one may guess what the Roman youth were able to do, who made it their ordinary exercise to bear the extremes of heat and cold and all sorts of fatigues ; affecting to despise and slight all hazards and pain, till sufferings became habitual. But to wave reflections, though my subject proffers fair, and to dismiss this swimming entertainment, I must here, though a little too early, remember that when he resided at Constantinople it had very nearly cost him his life ; for, being grown corpulent and fat, he was not qualified for such frolics but yet would needs go and swim in the Hellespont ; and there the water came down from the Black Sea so rigidly cold that it almost congealed the fat of his belly. He found himself not well and came into his boat, where he perceived his belly look like tallow, and could scarce feel any touch upon it. The rowers presently understood the case, and forthwith laid him down and fell all to rubbing and chafing his belly till they found it come red and warm ; and so they left him out of danger : but he was not free from pains in that part for divers months ; and after this he never went into the water more.

11. But to return : it may be easily imagined that, living thus at the writing-school, his extravagance must keep him in constant want of money. He had little or no allowance for his pocket, and could value himself only upon what his wealthy relations at times gave him : therefore all the wits he had were at work to supply the expense of his rambles. And this pinching necessity drew him into practices very unjustifiable and (except among unexperienced boys) altogether inexcusable. When a fresh youth came to the school, he and his companions looked out sharp to discover how well his pockets were lined ; and some of them would insinuate into his acquaintance and, becoming dear friends, one after another, borrow what he had ; and all, got that way, was

gain to the common stock ; for, if he was importunate about having his money again, they combined and led him a wearisome life and, rather than fail, basted him till he was reduced to a better temper ; and so they secured their own peace and to the lad so much wit bought and paid for. And other like ways they had of providing for the current expenses of their community.

12. But all those contrivances joined to his lawful stock would not stop all gaps, so that he was forced to borrow, or obtain to be trusted, till he had got in debt about three pounds, which upon his own strength he could not easily raise. But he had some dormant sparks of honour that galled him cruelly, upon account of his being so desperately in debt ; for his creditors were such as would be paid or go to his friends ; and that he dreaded mortally. He had relations that, upon application, would have extricated him by advancing such a sum, and particularly his best brother residing at the Temple : but then he must give some reasonable account how he had spent so much money ; and either he must lie, which he could not do solemnly to them, or he must lose his credit as to his discretion, the thought of which he could not bear. He determined to avoid all these shelves and, by his wits, as well as he could, get up the money and set himself clear. His chief expedient was making counterfeit bills of expenses ; and he took care they should be such as were partly expected, only enlarging a little and inserting some choice items ; and those he sent to his parents, who did not much examine into the reality or fictitiousness of the particulars but thought all was well and sent him up the money. In fine, he paid his debt to a farthing and, from that time, resolved never to be in debt beyond his power at any time to discharge whatever became of him.

13. This was one and the first of his short turns ; and from hence I date the crisis of his well-doing : for, if he had not had a singular good sense and sparks of honour at the bottom, however kept under by a prevailing ardour of his youth and spirits, he might here have swayed the wrong as well as the right way and have left the evil to increase upon him ; the end of which had been ruin. There is a good moral that lies behind these petty circumstances of a youth's condition, for which reason they are brought forward

to be viewed ; and that is, that it is expedient youth should have an early liberty to manage for itself ; for, with small losses, they obtain great and important experiences which at full age are seldom acquired without the loss of all at once. This is commonly observed of such gentlemen as are kept under till estates fall to them ; for they commonly err in choice of friends and methods ; which mistakes often prove the ruin of their whole fortunes. Whereas timely experience of men's ordinary self-interestedness and treachery and of their own folly and oversights, to be had in small dealing as well as in great, would have been precaution sufficient to have prevented such fatal oversights.

14. The next step our youth made towards an advancement of his fortunes, was into a serious and steady course of employment, by being bound to a Turkey merchant upon the ordinary terms to be sent abroad. His master was one Davis, a single man. He had £350 with him and no more. They boarded with one Mr. Andrews, a packer in Threadneedle-street, a very substantial and just man. This merchant's business was not enough to keep a man employed ; and, having left off rambling, much of his time lay upon his hands. He could not endure to be out of action or idle ; therefore, to fill up his intervals, he fell to work at the packing-press and other business of that trade ; by which he made himself a complete master of the mystery of that trade. This was not any loss of time ; for that is one of the chief trades which the Levant merchants are concerned with for the skilful packing their cloths sent into Turkey. The young gentleman took also a fancy to the binding of books ; and, having procured a stitching-board, press, and cutter, fell to work and bound up books of account for himself and divers for his friends in a very decent manner. He had a distinguishing genius towards all sorts of mechanic exercises ; as I shall have occasion to observe afterwards.

15. I do not remember any thing farther remarkable of this young gentleman during his serving as a merchant's man in London, until his master thought fit to send him out ; and that he did upon a voyage, than which there could not have been contrived one more desperate and discouraging : it was first as supercargo with an adventure

to Archangel, and there to negotiate the cargo and to ship another ; and then to sail with that by the back of Shetland and Ireland, round about through the Straits and so to Italy and Smyrna, where he was to reside as factor in the Turkey trade. It was a hard case for a raw youth to embark in such a voyage, without company or so much as a face in the ship that he ever saw before, and bound almost as far northward as Zembla, and to reside amongst and traffic with barbarous people, and then to return through all the bad weather the skies can afford. But he went not only willingly but ambitiously, and formalized upon nothing that led towards the end he most earnestly desired, which was to be settled as a factor in Turkey. His resolution was inexpugnable ; and not only in this but in many other instances of his life, he considered well what was best for him to do ; and after that point once determined he had no thought of difficulties ; he was not master of his fortunes and resolved, at all adventures, to advance them ; and therein to use the utmost of his industry and understanding, leaving the rest to Providence.

16. As for the particulars of his sufferings in the voyage outwards, with the delights of Archangel (which must needs be exquisite so near the North Pole), what was the way of transacting with that polite people, the incomprehensible fatigues of the voyage back and the various incidents before he came to Smyrna ; I think they will all appear most sensibly in the accounts he himself gave in letters wrote to his best brother. He took a pleasure in writing, especially to him ; and, out of that correspondence, the following extracts are taken which may be affirmed to be in all points strictly true.

VOYAGE FROM LONDON TO ARCHANGEL.

Extracted from the Letters of Mr. Dudley North.

17. "WE are now, (and by reason of a cross wind, which would not suffer us to keep our course direct have been longer than we liked,) in sight of many high, barbarous, and rocky isles, upon the coast of Norway ; where also we have sight of those huge living mountains, whales, enter-

taining themselves with spouting up water in great abundance and to an incredible height. It is not long since we met the offals of one which had the evil fortune to fall into the hands of the Hollanders, who, taking all that is useful, turned the guts and garbage adrift; and it looked like a field of fallow ground: thus the monster lay a prey to his fellow-creatures, a legion of which doubtless he intended at his next meal to have devoured, had not Hansmundungus caught him by the back. We saw store of small fish such as sharks, bottlenoses, and sunfishes, playing above the water. They are about the size of a man or somewhat less. When we were upon the coast of Shetland, which lies to the northward of Scotland and the Isles of Orkney, with our hooks and lines we found ourselves fresh victuals, taking mackerel to our hearts content, being very well grown and far better than such as you have at London; but at that time I had neither stomach to eat them taken nor to be at the taking them; for, after I was a week upon the water, the continual motion so disordered my body, that half a biscuit served me for more than a whole day's provision. Our store-fish was salt and strong, beef of such temper and saltness it was not meat for me. We had in the ship beans and peas, and fresh mutton every other night; but all was chip to me; my greatest comfort was the beer whilst it lasted good which I took well warmed; but at last that proved worse than all the rest, for it stank most abominably. I loathed strong waters more than any thing and could not come at the sweetmeats provided for me by my friends. All my relief was a little burnt claret, which now and then I took well warmed, but had not skill enough to keep it. For aught I see, what pleaseth or is loathsome is all alike, for neither will stay above a quarter an hour at most. In this taking I was more than a fortnight (now a little and but a little better) I could not stand much less walk; my easiest posture was lying a-bed which, I affirm, was more tedious to me than any jail could have been; my head so dizzy that I was incapable of reading, or doing aught else that might wear away some of my tedious time. At first I had some diversion sitting upon the deck and seeing the mariners follow their work, but that sport lasted not long;

for when the N. E. wind began to blow I found cold comfort there, and was forced to retire to my cabin.

18. "Now we are in sight of the North Cape, which, as most of the islands hereabouts, is tipped with snow and the wind comes extraordinary cold from them. I am of their opinion that say, a mile's travel at land is spent with more pleasure than ten at sea ; for there we have expectation of somewhat novel every night, besides the entertainment of the day ; but here we are at a loss to entertain ourselves at all ; as hath been my case hitherto, fit for nothing but lolling a-bed and that with no ease or delight ; but he must needs lie that is not able to go or stand. Do but imagine what a condition it is and how miserable, neither to eat, drink, sleep, nor do any thing else, but with an absolute *nausea* and reluctance ; not to have so much entertainment as the vicissitudes of night and day might afford ; not one person to speak to that I ever saw before. This is now my condition ; I begin to practise what I despised in others who count their time by meals and evacuations ; for even so are all my estimates. I think I ought to be well, however otherwise I find myself, and charge the grumbling of my guts and qualms that come over my stomach and dizziness of my head, upon being out of my element ; then lay me down with as much patience and little ease as if I were tied neck and heels without ability to rise ; so I continue till I think it meet to eat or drink which (as most conduced to ease) I do very sparingly ; for the tenth part of a meal at land is excess here.

19. "I think the seaman's life fit for none but such dull souls as think themselves happy in keeping a place warm, as wide, though seldom so long, as a coffin ; and this for one four hours, which they call a watch ; and when that task is over, are as happy in the enjoying a walk a little larger than the aforesaid lodgings ; where their turnings are so quick that it would puzzle one to imagine what they are doing. No time is so pleasant to me as when the wind blows fresh, and I see twenty-four or twenty-five men stand cursing themselves and damning others, just as if the devil himself and his comrades were come to show tricks. Then I get me to a corner where I am sure to be out of the way, and sit me down pleased with observing,

till a new and contrary motion of the vessel raiseth a tempest in my guts and then, to lighten the vessel, I heave overboard all I ate last and have enough to do to keep back entrails, heart and all ; and then I lay me down again.

20. "I envy the condition of those that have store of employment, and are so far from devising ways to pass time that the days are not sufficient for the business : but as soon as I get me ashore I hope to have my wish in that ; for I do not fear want of employment and have taken up a resolution not to be idle as long as I can find any thing in the world to do. I had thought to employ myself aboard by keeping an account of the ship's way, but am disappointed ; for the master and mates, on whom that charge lies, are a sort of people who do all by mechanic rule and understand nothing, or very little, of the nature and reason of the instruments they use. And where that little happens they are very shy of it ; and if at any time one speaks to them, they think they have a blockhead to deal with who understands nothing ; and they will bear no objection to their dictates. As for reasons and causes they lie beyond their capacity ; all that is not set down at large in their books they account no better than damnable doctrine and heresy : their quotations are irrefragable and not to be disputed.

21. "The weather is now become fine, warm and sunshine, and the sea, by use, more tolerable, and we are in hopes not to continue twenty-four hours upon it ; for we have land on both sides and our port about thirty leagues a-head. Yesterday we met with a Russ boat and brought her by the lee ; some of the crew came on board us and the seamen trucked some tobacco with them for their capeaks, or furred caps, and having inquired news of their affairs dismissed them.

" It is commonly said, and I believe true, that willicks, sea-pigeons, and divers, as also other birds that get their living upon the sea, will subsist two hours or more under water ; and they make use of their wings there to take their prey. They affirm they will sink with wings displayed twenty fathom, and that they have seen it ; and truly one may see a tobacco-pipe or any white thing sink a great while in the sea ; but how many fathom I cannot tell.

22. "On Saturday night we came to an anchor before the Bar of Archangel, being the headmost of our fleet. This is the sea which is called the White Sea, but most unfitly for its colour; for I can compare it to nothing better than dead beer, being as thick as that can well be. The conditions of this sea are worse than its looks; for the tides are uncertain and unaccountable. While we were a little before the bar among the small islands, and the wind faint, we were mightily put to it as to trouble but without danger; it happened that the tide ran all points of the compass in less than four hours; so we lay and, for want of wind, could not help ourselves but were carried and turned about, whether we would or no; which made us drop our anchor and expect another tide. In the meantime we went ashore on one of those small islands which we found overgrown with wood and moss; the wood was pines and fir which, though let alone, comes not to any magnitude but, after it is full grown, dies, and then, losing the bark, stands naked for some time and shoots out long black hair to the length of a span. The place was not inhabited; but yet on the lower ground was excellent good grass, which the adjacent inhabitants in summer cut down and make into locks (which they stake so as not to be moved by wind or floods) and, when the seas are frozen over, they fetch it away upon sleds. We saw here no manner of beasts and only the footing of bears; but we shot some ducks and geese and, leaving the place, made to our ship.

23. "The wind was then freshened; so we hoisted sail and passed the bar very well and made forwards about four leagues. Then the soldiers' boat came aboard us, to take the names of the ship and master. These fellows being strangely, I may say fantastically, clad and armed, the eyes and attention of the sailors (observing them) were diverted from their business; so that, when the pilot cried starboard, the helm lay still a-port and in less than a quarter of an hour we were aground. Now began the game; for you might hear one swear and another stamp and all in a hurry; forty several ways put in practice at once to get off the ship, which after an hour or two, began to move again; but we continued so doing only into deep water and then we

cast anchor again and, at the next hoisting, came to the desired place of our stay."

RESIDENCE AT ARCHANGEL.

24. "WE went ashore, to live in houses built with trees laid along one upon another and let in at the ends; the streets are paved with trees and the houses covered with birch bark. The ground where the English are appointed to dwell is paled round with great trees set upright; the like is for the Dutch and Hamburgers. The Emperor of Russia sends down every year a governor and a *gort*, or judge, to keep the peace and decide all differences. Their law is in their heads, and what comes out of their mouths is without control or appeal. So that whatever difference ariseth between one man and another, it is sure to be fully decided in less than an hour. After the parties have once spoke he gives the decisive stroke and there is an end.

25. "Now this is a fine place to live in, victuals of all sorts plenty and brave sunshine weather; as we sailed along the coast of Norway, I fancied the clouds, though lost in the horizon, were but a small distance from us, which this place confirms; else one place could not be so very serene and another so cloudy, and that almost constantly. For at the North Cape, it is rare to see the sun; and here, at Archangel, about 200 leagues distant, not a cloud to be seen for divers months together; when we were two leagues distant from the huge mountains on the coast of Norway, we could plainly discern the clouds to pass between the mountains and us.

26. "One of the inconveniences that lie on those who dwell in this country, is that the people are so given to nastiness that nothing can be eateu out of their hands; you shall have perhaps four brothers and as many sisters, with their father, mother, husbands, and wives, all dwell in one hot house (*wisbie* they call it). They have nothing but a little straw strewed on the ground to lie upon. They wear loose garments above, with linen drawers which go down to their heels, and a short shirt underneath like a coat. To this, in the winter, they add a *caftan* as they call it, which is an under-coat; the upper they call a *shube*. And for their boots and huge thick stockings, and double-

mittens for their hands, they never alter, but continually wear them. The women, I think are the most deformed creatures that ever were seen; generally short and by reason of their lying in *wisbies* and *bastoes*, very swarthy. Their wear is, for the labouring women, boots; but for them that keep house, neither shoes nor stockings; they wear a linen loose garment next their skin for the most part, without any thing else; but sometimes they have another of blue calico over the other; but that is all.

27. "The men count it a sin to have either long hair or a short beard. They are extremely superstitious: every man has his object of worship; but some twenty or more. They are commodities sold in the market; and they will not sell any to a stranger, or suffer him so much as to touch them. These are pictures of the saints and that of our Saviour. The great men burn lamps before them day and night and adorn them richly with gold and pearl; but when these are worn out and they cannot see any thing of them, they hold it not fit or lawful to burn them, but, in a solemn manner carry them to the sea, and there set them adrift to shift for themselves.

28. "These people are generally thieves from the first to the last, and steal not only from strangers but neighbours; and possession is all the law they have among themselves. Drinking is their only pastime; and he that is not drunk on a holy day or sabbath day, is neither a friend to their God nor emperor. They are all left to get their livings the best way they can. He that is a carpenter to-day is a labourer to-morrow. Every man breeds up his own sons, and it is a shame to be wiser than their forefathers.

29. "This town of Archangel stands on a bog, and if you offer to walk out of town (except one way which is by the water side, leading to a small grove of trees that are of a competent height and mostly pine, fir, and birch) if the way be not paved with planks, as ordinarily is done to make a passage from the town to some windmill, you are presently over shoes and boots. Among the rest of the islands, some are very good ground and bear corn of all sorts which, after it is turned colour, as it will in five weeks after it is put in the ground, they cut down and lay in the sun to ripen or harden; and thus they often have two crops in a year.

30. " You shall not see in all this country, one hundred acres of good ground without a monastery or two or three, in sight of it ; who will, may shave himself a friar ; but it is seldom done unless in sickness ; for they think whoever dies without the last unction cannot be saved ; and he that recovers and lives after he hath received that sacrament is a friar all the rest of his life.

31. " In this country the husband is the sole commander of the wife who differs very little from his servant. Many will marry their sons very young to lusty baggages on purpose to gain able servants.

32. " I shall add (though not very material) the process of making tar, the product of this place. They dig a hole in the ground, of a competent size some two or three fathom deep ; and, a little lower than the middle, they make a platform of wood and thereon heap earth about a foot deep, except in the middle, where a hole is left in the form of a tunnel. Then they fill the pit with fir billets piled up from the platform, and rising about a fathom or more above ground, which part they wall about with turf and clay to keep in the fire. They command the fire by quenching ; for which use they make a *lixivium* of the ashes of fir. When all is ready, they set fire a-top and keep the wood burning, but very leisurely till it comes within a foot or two of the partition ; and then they heave out the fire as fast as is possible ; for if it once lay hold of the tar, which is settled down into the lower pit, it blows all up forthwith. These tar-pits take up a great deal of trouble and many men to tend them during the time of their burning, that the fire may descend even and leisurely, whereby the tar may have time to soak out of the wood and settle down into the pit. As it comes from the wood it is pure tar ; but in the pit it mixeth with water which issues from the wood also : therefore it must be clarified from it once or twice.

33. " The manner of their *bastoes*, or baths, is worth the notice. They are made as a square room, in one corner of which is built a sort of oven the top of which is covered with great round pebble stones laid very thick one upon another without any mortar. In this oven they burn an arm-full or two of billets and, during the fire, leave the

door open for the smoke to go out which else could not any way pass for the closeness of the room. When the fire is out and the stones thoroughly hot, you go into it stark naked ; and the heat is so extraordinary that, in less than a quarter of an hour, the sweat shall run from you like water and the heat almost stifle you. There are several benches, which are the degrees of heat ; on the ground it is tolerable, but very few are able to hold up their heads to the top of the room or stand upright. They heat the room to what degree you please by dashing cold water upon the stones, which doth wonderfully augment it. These *bastoes* are such common things that there is scarce a house, however poor, that wants one. They seldom or never lie with their wives, but in the *basto* ; the women are always brought to bed in it. It is common to see men stand at the church door, not daring to enter because they have not washed since they lay with their wives ; so nice is their devotion.

34. "All the tools they work with about wood, is a hatchet and all of a bigness, so that the largest trees and smallest pieces of wood are wrought upon with the same tool. I believe they are the best hatchet men in the world ; for, except a shave, they have no other tool to do all manner of works. Most houses in the country are of wood and have no sort of material else about them : and some again, as at the city of Moscow, for prevention of fire have not a stick of wood about them ; the very doors and windows are of iron. Most of our warehouses here have fire-cellars under them ; it is a perfect house under ground, built as others are and covered with great trees with a fathom of earth laid over it. The door is deep and laid round with brick. When a fire happenes, the goods are flung down at that door ; and there always stand ready about a dozen barrels of sand which serve to dam up the door. Then the house may be burnt to the ground, and all the goods remain safe.

"Now it is the sixteenth of September [1661 ?] and the weather blows cold ; it is time for us to go to sea."

VOYAGE FROM ARCHANGEL TO LEGHORN.

35. "AFTER we came to the height of the North Cape,

our fair weather, which we had at Archangel and some part of the way, quite left us; and there succeeded nothing but storms and excessive raw, cold, and snowy weather. At first (in weather bad enough but nothing like to what followed) we split our main-sail, and then we brought too a foul weather (that is a bran-new) main-sail, but all was not sufficient; for between Ireland and the height of the Cape, such frets of wind came down upon us and so suddenly, in such contrary points of the compass, that canvass could not sustain it; but lying a-try, as they call it, that is with no other sail out and a reef of that taken in too, we split our sail from top to bottom, and the better part was blown quite out of the bolt-ropes, and the rest not saved without much ado. All this while the ship ploughed her mizen-shrouds under water, and then we were fain to lie a-hull at the mercy of the sea and waves. It is strange to say what mighty seas we had many times. Curiosity made me leave my bed, though very sick, only to behold those mountains of water which rolled up and down. Conceive that the water which is a-top, is made to move faster than the great bulk below of any great wave driven by force of the wind; so you will imagine how it must break over the rest, all in white froth. And this the ship is sure to have, when it happens that she is on the wave and the break is on her side. We shipped seas over our poop and upon our broadside, from stem to stern, and after had our main-yard washed; nay he was sure to be ducked that was at the yard-arm spilling the sail.

36. "Thus having lost all our main-sails, the only refuge we had was, when the wind ceased a little, to bring a new fore-sail to the main-yard, and so sometimes a-try and sometimes a-hull we busked it out, rain and snow continually falling. Perhaps for three watches' time a nipping frost, and presently after comes rain and then snow which, frozen on the shrouds, fell down ready to knock the sailors on the head; sometimes between winds, when we went to loose our top-sails, they were so frozen we could not get them out; nay, our main-tacks and sheets being hard frozen, if we but offered to bend them, broke like rotten sticks. After the main-sail was split we had sixteen of our men down at once of the cramp in their bones; one

staying in the fore-top but till his fellow went down for a rope to spill the foot of the sail, which was blown out, was frozen, and forced to be handed down and laid into a warm bed ; I believe no one in the ship had a dry thread on his back, sometimes for at least a fortnight together. But, God be thanked, after we had, not without great danger, clawed off a lee-shore on the back of Ireland, we had fair weather and good wind ; and so without any thing extraordinary but what I have wrote elsewhere we reached Alicant.

37. "At Alicant I was in a worse prison than at any time before in all the voyage ; for the custom is there that no ship shall land either men or goods, till the Pratique Master is satisfied that the ship is healthful. In some places they are (in earnest) strict concerning this ; but here they make it a money-matter : and our master refusing to pay about six dollars, we were forced to keep ship about six days, which time we lay detained by cross winds and expecting company. The town is very small and stands on the side of a rocky hill strongly walled towards the water-side, and upon the walls good store of guns planted to defend the ships in the road. Upon the top of the hill, which is extraordinary steep, stands the castle, which is inaccessible only by mounting up stairs on the outside of the wall.

38. "After we left Alicant, we had reasonable weather all along the coast ; for we were seldom a gun-shot off the shore all along the Straits. We passed the gulf of Lyons, terrible to sailors for sudden storms and gusts upon divers points. But the two or three days low-sail weather seemed nothing to us, who came out of a place for weather far beyond the worst that can happen in this place.

39. "It is observable that all along the coasts in these seas, if there is not any great storm, you are sure to have a land-breeze at night ; so that when you have a handsome gale in the offing, drawing near the land, you shall find the wind to wear away ; but however he speeds that is out at sea at night a gale under the land is certain : therefore, the small boats and settees which dare not put out to sea for fear of the Turks all day, for the most part lie still in hope of a wind at night. This we had experience of very often in this passage ; for, between Corsica

and Leghorn, sometimes for half an hour, we should have a handsome gale from the isle and presently that wind, reflecting from the mountains on the main land, would bring our ship a-stays ; and all that while we could perceive by the sea that the wind was fresh two or three leagues a-stern ; so we lay much troubled between wind and wind, and had above forty turns before we could reach the road of Leghorn. About midnight, 20th of December N.S., we came to an anchor in safety, for which God be praised.

40. " But you may easily imagine what a toss I was in, to lie about a week aboard the ship for want of pratique. In this town they are extraordinary strict concerning health; all woollen goods are put into the Lazaretto, which is a place two miles from the town, to be aired. If ships have touched on the Barbary coast, or any part of Turkey, they will sometimes condemn them to lie forty days in the road before they will permit either man or goods to come ashore. And thus we lay with two guardians over us for six or seven days, not being suffered to go aboard any ship or any one to come to us; and, for all letters and papers sent ashore, they take them in a slit stick and air them over a good fire, before they will themselves, or suffer any else to touch them."

REMARKS FROM ITALY.

41. " THE town of Leghorn is a very strong and well-fortified place, having the sea brought round it in ditches which are very deep and broad: it is very well walled with brick-walls of a vast thickness and filled up with earth between. The town is built of brick and stone and very uniform. In Italy they use in building very little wood; their lintels and jambs of doors and windows are stone (though the houses are mean), and that very hard to get of such great lengths as are fit for the purpose. The floors of all their rooms, high and low, are all brick which is laid double; their tiling is first flat tile with their edges turned up, on which they lay a sort of small ridge tiles to cover the joint. The streets are fine, straight, and large, and paved with great stones. In the middle of the town stands the cathedral, of which I need say no more but that it was the pattern of Covent-garden church, and hath before it a very stately piazza in the same manner.

42. "On new year's eve the Great Duke of Tuscany invited all the English to a *caccia*, as they call hunting. So, over-night, we set out for Pisa where the great duke then kept his residence. Pisa was formerly the head of a noble republic, and hath maintained a hundred galleys together for scouring these seas; but now it is brought under subjection and very much ruined and depopulated. It stands on the river Arno and hath three bridges over it; one of which is all marble and built out of the ruins of a very famous bridge of one arch over the great river; but it had not the luck to stand a full fortnight after it was finished.

43. "Upon this bridge, which is very broad, is every year celebrated the *Joco di Ponte*, as they call it: it is a game between one side of the river and the other, the town being pretty equally divided; and in this manner two captains of the *Joco* are chosen by the duke, and they get what stout fellows they can to be of their side, whom they divide into companies and distinguish by painted buckram coats, perhaps three or four hundred of a side. Upon the set day, the duke and ladies take places on a scaffold to judge; and the parties on each side draw up near each foot of the bridge, armed to the middle with close helmets and great quilted things under their armour, to fend off the blows which they are sure to have laid on. On the middle of the bridge is a rail laid across which, upon a signal from the duke, flies up (being made accordingly), and straight the company on each side get themselves as close as they can and to work they go, knocking one another with a great instrument of thick board almost like a shield. Truly, the play is no other but who can crowd the rest off the bridge. But, what with crowding and knocking, they make a shift to kill three or four in a year, notwithstanding their armour.

44. "This town stands fifteen Italian, which I suppose cannot be above ten of our, miles from Leghorn and hath not such fair streets as that, but abounds in stately palaces of marble and other very fair stone. It is most famous for the *Duomo*, as they call cathedral churches, which is built all of marble and is fair workmanship, but exceedingly beautified within with gilding and carved stone-work; but what is most to be admired are the incomparable brass gates which are massive and cast and most curiously

adorned with historical pictures out of the bible, not in great but in small shapes. Truly I never saw any thing like them. At the west end there is another building very stately and high which contains only a font for baptism, and is called the *Baptista*. On one side stands a building of length and breadth (as they say) of Noah's ark, and is filled with Jerusalem earth which, they affirm, consumes a man in twenty-four hours after he is buried. That which is esteemed the best stone-work in the world is the steeple, which stands somewhat distant from the church and leans very much; so that you would swear it could not stand an hour. I was within and on the top, which is very high, upon which it hath eight great bells; and indeed the walls are very thick, and it inclines as much on the inside as without and is all of pure marble.

45. "But now to our game, which was after this manner: the place is a plain less than a mile over, begirt on all sides with very thick woods where the deer and wild boars are in great abundance: one side of the plain a little way within the wood, is paled with canvas which the deer will not venture to take over. When the duke and the ladies have taken their places provided in the field on purpose for them, the country people who are dispersed in the woods in great abundance, blow horns, sound trumpets, make fires, shoot guns, halloo, and make all the horrid noises they can devise, to fright the game into the plain; which no sooner appear but men and dogs do their best to kill them, some on horseback with lances and spears, some on foot with javelins and halberts: guns are not permitted, but to the duke only: no sort of fair play showed, but all speed is made after every thing that appears. He that gives the first wound hath the humbles for his pains. It is very good sport, and wants nothing but to be rewarded as ours in England, with good eating after it is over; for their deer are mere carrion which none cares to eat of; but the great duke powdereth them up for the galleys. It is very ordinary in this manner in three hours time to kill about forty deer, and perhaps as many hogs.

46. "The duke is very nice of his game; and it is no less than galley-matter for any man to kill deer or hog, except at this general hunt.

47. "The like severity is used for killing geese or ducks, which being so preserved in a fenny place about four miles from Leghorn there are an unimaginable number of both, as I saw covering the place which is large; and so tame that, on our passing by with horses not gun-shot off, we could not raise them with all our shouting.

48. "The woods are green all winter; not that all trees in this country are so; but some sorts, of which there are whole woods, never shed all their leaves but some insensibly decaying and others in prime. One of these sorts is the cork-tree; our cork is but the inner bark of it and, where it is taken off, it grows again and the wood swells with it so that an old tree, often peeled in this manner, shall be grown almost four-square.

49. "Describing Leghorn I almost forgot to speak of the Mole, which is a defence made for the ships to lie under out of danger of the sea which, upon some winds, is very rough in the open roads. It is a sort of wall built in the sea against that point of wind that most raiseth waves. They build under water about four fathoms by two ways, either with piles drove into the ground, and then first throwing in mortar and after it stones till the work appear above water; and then they build as they please: else, this way being inconvenient in deep and rough water, they go thus to work; first make the place intended for building as plain as may be, then, having great chests of wood prepared, they fill them with, or rather build in them, perfect wall; after which, they are let down with cords upon the place designed for them; and so having many ready, they set them one upon another till the tops appear above water and then build upon them. They say this mole, as also that of Genoa which is accounted the best in the world, are so built. But, on the back-side towards the sea are thrown thousands of rocks without order; whereby you may conceive that the aforesaid building serves not so much to keep off the violence of the sea's breach as to make a perpendicular wall, so as a ship, that rides behind it, may ride close without damage.

50. "Now I am speaking of walls and stones, I shall say somewhat of my observation as I passed over the mountains between Pisa and Lucca. I passed by places which

were in a manner perpendicular and seem not made so either by the falling or taking away of any part ; and saw, as it were great wens grow out, as you know common from trees especially the maple. I remember, at the mole of Leghorn, I took special notice of pieces of rock thrown there of perhaps ten ton weight, which one would swear at a near view were only great heaps of clay stuck with small pebble-stones ; but coming to touch them, such was their hardness, though seeming so soft, that you could not with any force part away one of those little stones (the whole being but many of them stuck together) without breaking, as would happen rather than the mortar, as I may call it, would let go its hold.

51. "Now is the time, between Christmas and Lent, which is called Carnival. The people use all the mirth they can devise; such as passing in masquerade clothes, one after one and another after another manner ; tossing eggshells with sweet water, where they see women they like; and thus tossing eggs at first, the women will reach them till the basket be divided betwixt them, and then to pelting each other they go ; and so are all Sundays and holidays spent.

52. "The keeping the *Calcia* at Lucca very solemnly this year invited many from this place, whereof I was one, to go and see it. It is a fair city, the head of a republic that lies between the mountains, of which small states there are many hereabouts. In this town are many fair palaces and brave buildings of stone, but the narrowness of the streets spoils the beauty of them. It is finely walled about and hath a strong garrison continually in it. The people are accounted the civillest in all Italy ; and, in their customs, are nearest to the English of any ; nor are they so strict over their daughters nor jealous of their wives as their neighbours.

53. "The *calcia* is a play to which the inhabitants invited the Duke of Hinsburg, and, I believe, cost them three thousand dollars, for they who played were all in (white on one side, and red on the other) satin doublets with suitable caps ; trumpeters and drummers with rich liveries of the appropriated colours and laced. There was one hundred and forty that played of a side all thus

habited; the princes of the *calcia* and their pages in cloth of silver. The play was almost after the maner of football; only they observe no certain goal and strike the ball with their hands, and they who can get the ball beyond the appointed bounds win; but the greatest sport we had was to see them fight for the ball when it was in the middle of them all.

54. "15th February. Now Carnival begins to grow hot, the Sundays come not about fast enough; so that scarce a day is for business but all for sport. He is a wise man that now knows of what sex his companion is; so frequent is it for women to alter their habits. But then the man shall be in petticoats (if it be for nought else but to accompany his disguised bedfellow), lest her disguising should be a means to set a beast-like mark upon her husband's head. So damnably jealous are these, and such a fashion is it to be so amongst them, that he who, at his going abroad, locks not his wife up, not suffering her at any time to stir abroad unless to church and not then without a guardian, is esteemed no less than the worst of cuckolds. Nor is their jealousy less over their daughters who are kept in the most extreme severity imaginable; so that their sweethearts make love to them at the window. Nor is their consent at all thought necessary if the old man can but find a match to his liking, be the conditions never so bad on the maid's side. But yet they have the wit to allow themselves all the freedom in the world, it being no disgrace for the best man in Leghorn to keep two or three ladies of pleasure and to own it publicly. Nor do the light sort of women, of which there are in this town abundance (nor indeed are they scarce in any part of Italy), imagine any disgrace in publicly owning their profession. And I believe their frequent going to church (they appearing most fervent in their devotions) aims only at like success; as when the seaman returning said to his wife, "Are you turned bawd yet?" "No, John," said the woman, "I am a whore still, and I hope God will keep me so."

55. "March.—Now the people of this town have a devotion to a place called St. Jacopo's, about a mile out of town, every Friday in this month; whither wives and daughters, who at no time else see the sun but at their windows and

in a short walk to the church, now have the pleasure of so fine a walk, to their own refreshing no less than the delight of such as pretend an interest in them, and yet never saw more of them than their heads at a window.

56. "The women of this place are for the most part black-haired, some of them fair and well-featured, and (for the better sort) go after the English or French fashion. I remember, I have heard you say that fashions and manners generally travel from south to north, which opinion I would have you recant ; for here she counts herself not fine that hath not something English about her. And to say this or that comes from England gives a greater esteem than we conceive when, at home, we call any thing French or Italian. And this, not for some particulars but for all manner of things. The men also are habited in the same way.

57. "Here is a fellow in town who lived five or six years with a merchant in London and this Carnival, taught seven or eight of his comrades to dance after the English fashion only two or three country dances, which they performed at a *villice* (that is a meeting for dancing), and with so general applause that it is said the great duke will have them dance before him at his next coming to this place. This is only to show the false relations of many who travel these parts ; and that we have no reason to undervalue ourselves at home so much as many do ; I not finding any one thing which may make me prefer this country, setting aside only the stone-buildings, and the temper of the air in winter. But then, as the winter is temperate and serene and the fields green, so the extraordinary heat of the summer burns up all ; wherefore the winter is justly esteemed the most pleasant time. I am not, in what I say here, at all partial but endeavour as near as possibly I can to express my own sense of what I observe. And I am confident none can tax what I say of the least falsity, whatever may appear of negligence or ignorance in ill-setting it down ; and I would not have any one think I esteem it an excuse or commendation to myself to say, as I must do, that my thoughts are here set down without either premeditation or alteration.

58. "The tedious stay of the Hollanders' convoy, on which I intend my passage to Smyrna, makes me continue

at Leghorn longer than I am willing ; it being to me loss of time as well as chargeable ; so that having nothing to do, my business not lying here, I undertake a journey to Florence which is a city about fifty-five miles from hence : that nearness of the place, convenience of company, and its being so well worth seeing, inclined me to bring that voyage under my account of expenses, which will be considerable lying still here. Perhaps my friends may think this visiting of places no sign of good husbandry ; but let it be considered that an idle person is subject to expense wherever he lieth, and the well employment of time and experience to be gained this way may countervail some increase of charge.

59. "The road to Florence is all along very pleasant corn-fields, green on all sides and planted with willow or sallow trees pretty thick but orderly, which serve only for stakes for the vines which are planted at their roots. The country in the plains very fruitful and pleasant and very well watered with rivulets, which spring from the rocky mountains not far off. On all my way to this city I have not seen any fallow ground at all ; but they use dunging the ground so much, that it is a very ordinary calling for young fellows to travel the roads with a basket at their necks to pick up horse-dung, &c., which they sell to countrymen at a price according to the quality. The manner of landlords dealing with tenants is quite different from the common use in England ; for they bargain with a country-fellow as well as they can for what share of the crop the man will allow ; he being at the charge and pains to till the ground, and the landlord usually finding half the seed and hath commonly the same part of the crop ; but they regulate their bargains according to the fruitfulness of the land ; so also for wine and oil.

60. "I have often seen those three most useful things in the world produced in one and the same field, the olive-trees amongst the corn and the wine in the trees. But in this place, the gentlemen have one prerogative which for contrariety to our use may seem strange. No countryman is suffered to sell any wine but by wholesale ; retailing being reserved as proper only for the nobility and gentry. And to signify the same, you shall not see a gentleman's house

any where without an empty flask, and there the people go and fetch their wine flask by flask ; and in Florence, he that hath a flask hang longest at his door is counted the richest man.

61. "The city of Florence stands upon the river Arno, whereby it is parted but joins itself again by four bridges upon the chief of which only silversmiths are permitted ; who, contrary to the usual manner in London, work and sell both. The river is broad but shallow and navigable only by small boats, which serve to bring up merchandises from Leghorn. It is scarce navigable at all above the town ; but extreme subject to sudden risings from rains which, in this country, fall very fierce and coming from the hills cause excessive floods, and not only sudden but often ; and banks are maintained upon the river accordingly. The town is walled and ditched about but kept dry for the profit of the ground. It is so ordered that at a very small warning the ditch may be filled from Arno. The walls are ancient and not thick, of stone, and encompass the whole city and somewhat more. Although the compass of the walls makes the city seem large, yet in truth one quarter of the inclosed ground is unpeopled and sown with corn and wine planted, besides gardens which most houses have. But the religious houses especially are very well accommodated in this kind ; and there are abundance of them in this place : they count one hundred and twelve nunneries, besides seminaries and other orders of men of which there is no want. The streets are extreme beautiful, clean, and neat ; adorned on either side with the palaces of the noblemen of this country, which palaces are built of very fair stone and well wrought. The churches also are very beautiful most of which are of coloured marble, very fine to see; the *Duomo* after the aforesaid manner large and very high ; and also the *Cupola*, as they call it, which is round and very high, for at the summit stands a copper ball gilt which below seems of no extraordinary bulk and yet of capacity to receive in the hollow above twenty men.

62. "They have got a trick in this town not to finish their churches but leave some part or other not done ; and it is said that the great dukes have a policy in it ; for by that means they keep to themselves revenues destined for

that purpose, which otherwise would go out of their hands. Amongst the rest of the unfinished buildings I will reckon a chapel, begun a long time since by some of the duke's ancestors, so extraordinary rich and of such admirable workmanship that the like is not elsewhere to be found as all men agree. As for the outside, little of what is designed is yet done to it; and the inside not half ended: it is all done with hard precious stones sorted by colours no other than the natural of the stone; and yet the coats of arms and all other forms are wrought lively beyond all power of description and, for strength and lustre, far beyond any painting. For red they use coral; for white mother of pearl: porphyry and crystal are the lowest materials they use. In fine, it is so rich that I am of opinion it will never be ended; for the duke allows but thirty thousand crowns per annum which makes but a small appearance in seven years' work. The altar is almost ended, being of the same sort of rich stone-work; the table or main part of it whereon the mass is said, is of pure beaten gold (kept in another place to be seen) and the cross to it is large and all of diamonds. I am almost ashamed of what I here write concerning this chapel; for the workmanship is so excellent and the materials of such extraordinary value, that no man who sees it not can believe what is said of it, and even he that sees is not able to conceive the labour and skill which is necessarily used in composing these precious stones: you shall see of them in one coat of arms without number, and yet so exquisitely joined and set in as you cannot apprehend possible to be done.

63. "From this let me proceed to a description, though imperfect, of the duke's gallery which I account the next thing of notable importance. It is a place long and double and, at the bottom, arched like the Exchange of London, and differs from that in not being square but of great length and open at one end. At the bottom, you pass through open vaults into several rooms where law-matters and other public state-businesses are kept. Over them are several rooms round about for the workmen to work in, for the chapel, and other curiosities in stone-work, wherein the duke delights extremely. Over this is nothing but a plain gallery on both sides adorned with statues; and on the

outermost side are hung pictures of most men of note ; as kings, &c. in Christendom. Several rooms open into this gallery in which the duke delights to preserve all manner of rarities, antiquities, and curious workmanship of all sorts. In one room are to be seen all sorts of armour and weapons of war, ancient, and as well such as were formerly used in these parts of the world, as what have been found in foreign countries and lands at their first discovery.

64. "Another room is full of relics of antiquity of all sorts, as statues, old iron-work, and pictures, which they say had their being very long ago and are the works of the first professors of that art. There are also in that room pieces of ivory wrought most exquisitely ; but of these matters expression fails, they are peculiar to sight. The curious workmanship and pretty liveliness of the postures make them most worth any man's view that hath occasion to come this way. There are small figures of ivory, but yet not so small but far exceed any one piece, and the joints are so exact you cannot perceive where the pieces are put together ; and for turnery work, there is of it so small and crooked as is admirable.

65. "From this gallery we passed into several other rooms fraught with rarities of various sorts. The duke much delights in works of stone, as I said, and therein representations of birds and flowers and other things, upon cabinets and tables, of which the very best are here to be seen. Among others he hath one round table not very large, so admirably wrought, representing all manner of flowers in pots, that he esteems it invaluable. There are cabinets extraordinary rich, adorned not only with this sort of stone-work but with jewels also, and the best to be found of all sorts. I shall say no more concerning these rarities, but leave much to your own imagination to suggest ; and pass to what I have to observe without the city, that is the gardens and country-houses of the noblemen of this place.

66. "As for their houses, they are pretty and convenient but small ; yet large enough to contain the most numerous family of any amongst this people ; for it is not the use here, as in England, for a gentleman to keep many servants. You will find the expense of a nobleman here in matter of servants and housekeeping, to be short of an ordi-

nary gentleman in England. But as for their gardens and waterworks, they are very sumptuous ; and the places hereabouts are very fit for all sorts of inventions in water, standing not far from the great hills, whereby with a small charge they raise water to what height they please. It is hard to make a description of these things ; the design of all commonly is to imitate rocks and caverns under ground, rains, and rivers with tides. These inventions are so cunningly laid as shall entrap the unacquainted stranger, be he never so cautious. As, in some of these summer-rooms (which are all vaulted and marbled) some chairs are so made and placed that after you have sat in them a small time, an hundred several spouts shall be upon you.

67. "In one of these palaces belonging to the duke's brother (a cardinal), among divers other rarities they show a perpetual motion, as they call it, which is two brass balls running in an hollow ring of the same metal, and when one comes to the bottom the other is a-top, and that at the bottom falls off upon a spring which beats it up to the top again ; and so the motion continues. But you must know that the spring is invigorated by clockwork underneath, and so the perpetual motion is but temporary. The device is so clever it is past my skill to describe it, only so far that the parts fail of the continuance of motion pretended."

PASSAGE TO SMYRNA.

68. "IN my return from Florence, I passed through another part of the country and took Pratoa and Pistoia in my way, and so by Lucca to Leghorn where I passed away my tedious time as well as I could, till the arrival of the Flemish convoy bound for Smyrna, the port I am designed for.

69. "And upon this convoy I took my passage, leaving Italy a-stern ; and after various winds we arrived in sight of that mountain (of which I have somewhat to say) called Strombolo. It stands about ten leagues distant from the Vear of Messina, and at the time of our passing by, according to its usual custom belched out fire and smoke in a most terrible sort ; ceasing about half a quarter of an hour between time and time ; and this is its continual course more or less ; but, in its violence it is governed by the

winds. Not far from this stands another mountain called which casts out smoke in great abundance, but never flame. We passed near enough to have seen the flame of Mount *Ætna*, but it was not at this time in the condition of Strombolo; so we saw the mountain without either fire or smoke.

70. "In that narrow strait between Sicily and Italy stands the town of Messina, famous for the commodiousness of the harbour; but for nought else that I know except the superstition of the people. We had the happiness to have full sight of that, and their pride, the first of June, which began the three days' feast of the Madonna della Littere, so solemnly observed by them as no town can boast the like; only they want antiquity to authenticate their ceremonies; for they began it about three or four years since, and every year it is augmented. They are not stated to any particular place of the city; but generally all over, every man of what trade soever he be, endeavours to make his shop as fine as he can. The goldsmiths set forth their plate, some make flags of silver dishes soldered or tacked together and hang them out in the streets; so other trades set out their wares, even shoemakers and horn-sellers. And within their shops they all endeavour, as near as they can, to resemble churches with altars, &c. and all in devotion to the Lady; and a world of strange miracles doth this short time produce while the ceremony lasts, lost goods found, examples made on such as thieve at this time, which they account no less than sacrilege in an high degree. One place had a fancy which pleased me: it was the quarter of the cheesemongers and bacon-seilers, &c. In a broad place they had made artificial trees, hung as thick of all sorts of provisions as you can well imagine, to be in imitation of plenty. So here was meat but none to be sold, wares, but none to be bought, and the shops were churches without any masses.

71. "The day-time had the least share of this glorious ceremony; for in the night the churches were set out with lamps, and flags of such lights hung out in the street, and all the upper as well as the lower windows illuminated with three tier of lights at least. We saw also the general preparations that were made in public parts of the streets for

fireworks, &c. and for the procession of the hair of the Lady wherewith her letter was sealed ; but the wind permitting our stay for one day only did without doubt deprive us of the best part of the ceremony, which was to come at last.

72. "Under an handsome gale we put to sea, and came among the many islands in the Archipelago ; but it failed us and soon proved worse than so, fresh and contrary, which forced us to lie basking in those narrow seas, expecting when a more favourable gale would help us on our way to our desired port of Smyrna, which did not presently come to dismiss us out of this purgatory.

73. "We are here in the ship several nations of all sorts, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Armenian, Greek, and what not ; and as much variety of religions and languages, and none wanting company to speak with in any language he pleaseth, except myself that am left to talk English all alone. The utmost extremity of bad weather or what else desperate danger can happen would be almost welcome to me as the case stands, only to have the diversion of seeing what effects it would have upon our passengers ; then we should enjoy them in their several sorts of humours, far surpassing the best comedies you have at London. You may conceive what a dumb show I should have had here, if the time of my stay at Leghorn had not made me somewhat acquainted with the Italian tongue, which is most generally spoken of any. The language is not difficult ; and I find the little Latin I have to be an extraordinary help in attaining it.

74. "After three or four days basking thus in the Archipelago with contrary winds, between Negropont and Andria, with wind and current in our teeth so fresh that we could get nothing by boarding it ; a fine gale sprang up with which we hoped to weather Chio. But these Flemings were such dull beasts, both ships and men, that nothing but what is very ordinary is to be expected from them ; I will not say that they grudge pains, for they are laborious enough ; but they have not the nimbleness and ingenuity as I have seen in our English mariners. Hans will sooner heave a dog's dirt overboard than bestir himself to save a sail when it is splitting. I believe, had our Archangel

vessel been manned with this sort of people after the rate they behaved themselves here, we should not have come off as we did. It may be said I am partial ; for did not the Dutchmen pass the same voyage with us and at the same time ? It is true, but when we were tacking and turning in extremity of weather to get a little a-head, they took in all their sails and went all hands to the grout-pot and bread-basket. And that was the reason that in this voyage from Russia, of our three companions the first arrived twenty-four days and the last five weeks at Leghorn after us, though we set out together. They split sails here in the Archipelago and in the Vear of Messina, so as one would be ashamed to speak of it. And Hans stood gaping up with all his eyes to see which way the wind went to work to do it ; and so long as they have more sails below, it matters not with them ; and, to let the ship come a-stays is the least thing of a thousand. Well : but of this more than enough. With this good gale, 3d June, we arrived at Smyrna."

REMARKS FROM SMYRNA.

75. "As to the tides here, there is not any at least as we think ; for the place standing in a great bay, the motion of the water is hindered by the winds, which here all summer constantly blow the chief part of the day, that is from nine to six, off from sea, coming not always just at the same hour but a little sooner or later, and so hard that it seems a storm. This is called the *Embatty*, which with the other winds altogether govern our waters. They are very low with a northern wind, and with a southern, or *embatty* from the sea, very high. I have not heard that any place in the Straits hath any considerable tide, except Venice where it flows orderly.

76. "We have a castle here which stands by the seaside on a point of land about three leagues from the town ; and usually it is most plain to be seen ; but sometimes in thick weather it is not discernible by any man that stands upon the ground, yet mounting a few steps it may be seen ; and by this we judge how thick the air is ; for in the thicker air you must mount so much higher to see it. This I allege, to disprove the reason given for the sun's absence

a-low and appearance upon the topmast head, to be the solid earth or water, from the convexity interposing ; for that is always the same and cannot change with every weather. This is an excellent place for experiments of this kind ; for we perfectly know the distance of ships from us, by land-marks which of necessity they must pass ; and a small matter of clearness or thickness of the weather makes so much difference, that we judge it by how much we can see of a ship when she is at such or such a place : and, with help of glasses, we shall only see a ship's two top-sails, when, in clear weather, we shall see her low sails also. And the like difference is between the clearness of the top-sails more than of the lower, which confirms this opinion.

77. "As to the Greeks of this country, they live not up in the midlands but in few places ; their residence being most in port-towns as here, Constantinople, &c. The islands of the Archipelago are altogether inhabited by them. They pay to the Grand Signor yearly six dollars a head, poor and rich, which is levied by the Arachgees, the duty being called *arrach*. The Turks have divers ways of eating (as it is here termed) upon them, often punishing them for their habits, if in it they at all incline to the ordinary wear of the Turks. Every governor upon his first coming, will be sure to fine them in a round sum which they levy among themselves as best they may ; their usual way is to join trades and bring the money in.

78. "All trades here have heads, much like the masters of companies in England, who see that every one doth his duty. They have churches ; and all freedom in performing their ceremonies that possibly can be allowed them ; the Turks holding that all men are to be saved by their own religion ; so that neither Christian, Turk, nor Jew can curse either's faith, but upon complaint to the magistrate you may have them punished.

79. "The Greeks are generally so poor that they are not looked on by the Turks with any envy, but scorn ; few ever attaining to any great estate ; but if any happen to do so, he must look to bribe high such great men as know him to keep them his friends and live in what obscurity he can. But after all, it is very hard for him to behave

himself all his life, so as at one time or other they shall not find a hole in his coat, at which they drain out that which otherwise might have troubled his children to divide ; but, if he keep it till his death, what children he has share it.

80. "The power which governors of towns have over the Greeks, is uncontrollable ; none being able to contest with a potent Turk, unless he can make one more potent his friend and so escape. Those that have lands hold them by a writing, and Turkish witnesses, who must be present at the bargain. Of the fruits they pay one-tenth to the Aga of the place who, buying his government of the Grand Signor, by extortion and what not, makes as much as he can of it during his abode which is never long. The poor of all sorts are slaves to the rich and, among the rich, there are often money-combats ; that is, they go to Constantinople and bribe for places which may make them masters one over the other. It is common so as not to be thought at all strange, for a Chiaus to come down and take off a great man's head and then eat up all he finds of his.

81. "Turkish government is tyranny in the highest degree. And these inconveniences come of it ; that no man is sure of enjoying what he is possessed of an hour but lieth at the mercy of his superiors ; and yet there is no place in the world in which an ingenious person comes sooner and certainer to preferment than in the Turkish court. For there is no nobility nor doth any great man's son enjoy his father's estate ; but when any rich man dies (that is very rich), the Grand Signor presently takes what he can find, and gives a portion to his children as he thinks convenient. He that riseth from a footman to be a basha is not at all dis-esteemed for the meanness of his birth, no more than a poor great man's son is esteemed for the height of his, after his father is dead or in disgrace.

82. "We live here in a country admirably pleasant and bringing forth all that is to be desired both for delicacy and ordinary food. I should esteem the natives here, were they not so much enslaved by their rulers, for a people living in the height of happiness ; but as they are used by the tyranny of the place, under which we also groan, it is far otherwise ; only we have this advantage, to

think of our friends and returning to them in England, which is the greatest of our felicity.

83. "The people of this country and others, are so extraordinary much for the time present, that none takes care when he builds a house that it may last above twenty or thirty years; by reason of which you shall not see a good house in any place whatever. They are generally built of bricks sunburnt only and laid with dirt, which in some places is daubed on the outside with mortar; and often they are so built that a wet winter washeth them down. I believe that, by reason of much rain that fell here, this place felt the destruction of above one hundred houses. When this generation is past and the country comes to be inhabited by a people laborious and industrious, as hath formerly been; in a very small time nothing will be left whereby posterity may know that such people as these ever inhabited here. Whereas, on the other side, all the spite of time and the Turks cannot raze out of the country the marks of great and admirable structures, as fountains, aqueducts, and temples.

84. "I wish that I were capable of laying down in fit expressions what I have seen. I have passed through holes cut in entire rock (of what use God knows) which were a furlong long and there perhaps stopped with ruins; in some, clear passages but all in stony unfrequented places. As to what is said concerning the growth of stones, I think it reasonable and true; for here on the side of a rocky hill full of springs and of an earth fitter, as I suppose, for petrification than ordinary is, I have observed that which fully confirms what is conjectured; for I found here, in several places where the water hath fallen down, the stones to be exactly like icicles, which are of a sort so intricate that it is impossible stones should be worn in the like form, but must proceed by water and earth petrified. When you see the side of a house, down which the water hath fallen in frosty weather and there frozen, think you see this place. When I was about Florence I saw many artificial grots and rocks with water-works, in which the natural of this was perfectly imitated. Now I have seen the original, as I may call it,

I esteem the copy far more than I did or could have done before."

85. After these troublesome voyages well over our young factor found himself, what he infinitely desired to be, an agent for his master and factor settled at Smyrna. His chief dependence was upon the benefit of his commissions; for his own capital was inconsiderable; he had from his parents but one single hundred pounds advanced for him to trade with. But his mother, out of a hoard she had made of small legacies given him and some old gold of her own and other matters she had scraped together, made up about sixty pounds more, and his best brother lent him what money he had, which was about two hundred pounds, his whole inventory scarce amounted to four hundred pounds; and this was all the beginning this famous merchant had. It doth not appear that he was entertained a partner in any house, or *ragion* as they call it, where young men are as apprentices a while to observe and learn before they take the post of acting in the part of buying and selling; but he was independent, and stood upon his own legs. But it is probable that, as usual in such cases, he was recommended to some merchants upon the spot for advice and direction in difficult matters at first. And, since I have no better light in these matters, I take them upon my memory as well as I can recollect from his ordinary conversation. His business as a factor, besides what came from his master, was inconsiderable, perhaps a bale or two from such merchants as he had courted in London by officiously doing business for them. In that part of early prudence he had not been wanting to himself in London, having there officiously served divers of the Turkey merchants occasionally as they thought fit to make use of him, and this with no view but of their favour in a little employ when he went abroad; his master was no deep trader and his commissions were not great. It may seem strange that a young gentleman with so small a beginning as this was (small I say, compared with the common allowances of merchants in our days, *viz.* one thousand pounds at binding out and one thousand pounds at going abroad, or rather more, now very ordinarily

bestowed) should be able even to subsist himself in an expensive factory ; and how then to raise a great estate as he did ? The answer is very obvious, that, with industry and frugality small things become great, and, without it the largest provisions come to nothing.

86. He did not, as most young factors, set up himself in an expensive way of living after the example of those that he found upon the place ; for he wore plain and cheap clothes and kept no horse and put himself to diet as cheap as he could ; and, in all this reasonable conduct he was forced to muster up his spirits in opposition to those who slighted him for it; whom he as much slighted by a steady perseverance in his own way. There wanted not those who expected more of gaiety from him, as well on account of his quality as of the ordinary example or mode of the factors there, although some had occasion for as much thrift as himself. A young man of spirit hath enough to do to resist his own inclinations, and needs not the importunity or example of others to tempt him towards loose excesses ; and it is not a common firmness, I may say magnanimity, that can get the better of both. I have heard him say that, from the time he first went abroad till his return home, he had digested in his mind one principle which often swayed him ; and that was, to get abroad and spend at home ; and he thought that, if he must put himself into a parade, it should not be among Turks and strangers, among whom all he could do would not gain him any real advantage ; for if he were a little more looked upon there, to what good end was it ? He must at length come away and leave all that froth behind ; but experience at home had a lasting influence, and was seasoned with the joy of participating with his relations and acquaintance ; all the while cultivating a mutual esteem and lasting friendship amongst them.

87. In this thrifty way of living he passed his time at Smyrna for divers years, with a meagre income and not promising much increase. If ever he gratified himself, it was with a distinction between the two grand circumstantial, the one is establishments, and the other for once (as they say) and no more. He stood not out in ordinary complacencies but joined in such diversions as

the rest chose, and used to say, *come una volta tanto*; or, as we say, "so much for once and away." But it was a long time before he brought himself to keep a horse as the rest did; for that was an established charge. I have heard him say, that once before his cavaliership, the nation (as they call themselves) pressed him very much to go a hunting with them; and so he did, but instead of a horse he hired an ass to carry him and rode upon that. If this was done to show his firmness, and how little he stood upon forms or regarded any man's opinion, it was very philosophical. This passage seems to us much more bizarre than it was there; for in those countries, an ass-cavalcade is not at all extraordinary but very common; and all the holy men use it.

88. Having touched upon hunting, I may bestow a section upon the use of it in Turkey. First, dogs are counted unclean and are not by the Turks ordinarily admitted into houses but run masterless about the streets; but it is accounted a charity to relieve them; and some dogs take the road and follow travellers for their waste in eating, and do the ordinary service of watching and barking at all novelty. But for sport, the Turks keep a sort of greyhound, which they dress as fine as horses and clothe richly; but the hound is not at all known or understood by them. The merchants at Aleppo keep and use greyhounds and coursing in the greatest regularity. At Smyrna, the merchants procured a pack of hounds and hunted in the country after the English way; which was a prodigious mystery to the Turks who scarce yet believe the dogs followed the hare by the smell, but think there is witchcraft in it. Fellows at plough have laughed seeing the dogs run one way and the hare another; and, finding that sometimes the dogs came about after her, have lain down upon the foil to prove whether the dogs followed the track or not, until they came up full cry towards them; and then ran away as in a very great fright. One incident had like to have quite spoiled their sport, which was the mange; and that infested their pack to such a degree as must have destroyed it, until a certain cure was found out, which was fluxing with mercury; a physic which they administered of course and regularly, scarce ever failing of

its effect to set matters right again. And the pack continues there, and is like to continue.

89. He was a gentleman ever brisk and witty, a great observer of all incidents, and withal very friendly and communicative; which made him be generally beloved and his company desired by the top merchants of the factory. He was not a good fellow, as it is called, and on the other side not morose; but went along with his company and not seldom beyond the measures he desired. He was ever a thorn in the sides of the foolish and malicious and wanted not inventions to divert himself and others, by exposing them. This made all choose to stand fair with him; for he was a creature that had sharp claws and scaly sides. A young man among his equals had need be at least as well armed as the rest; for they are not given to moderation in making sport with each other but rather on the other side, according as a companion shows an unguarded part, with tricks and stratagems always aiming to attack him in that quarter. This makes the breeding of youth to be always best among equals, and not with either superiors or inferiors. The former makes them abject and the other insolent, and both unfit for common conversation; which abroad in the world is ordinarily among equals. He said that he never was caught in any of their novice-traps; of which one, alluding to horses in a stable, is called tying up the head; and this they practise upon young or shallow traders who deal by themselves. If they happen to have a large import and all their warehouses are full, the old factors, fearing the young men should be too quick and get the custom, conspire to discourse of not selling but at a price; the young men, with good reason as they think, resolve the same; and then the others undersell and leave them without opportunity; for their heads were tied up from their meat.

90. There was one Broadgate, of whom more is related in the life of this gentleman's best brother:¹ he was sent out by the Turkey Company in London to serve as chaplain to my Lord Ambassador and the factory at Constantinople; and, according to the philosophic adage, *omnes*

¹ See Life of Lord Keeper, § 37.

stulti insaniunt, all fools are out of their wits—might very reasonably pass for a madman. He was a fanatic and a whimsical pedant; and accounted to himself that he was to go over to be tutor to a parcel of rude, irreligious boys, and that he ought to erect a discipline and make a Presbyterian reform amongst them; in order to which he had framed a Catechism and had it printed, and many of the copies stitched *in true blue*,¹ to be presented to the merchants at his first arrival that they might be prepared for his future catechisations. Now, for the better understanding this historiette, it is to be remembered that these factories carry themselves very high; and if their chaplain be a venerable and prudent good man, revere him entirely and, calling him Pappas, which is the term in the Levant given to their priests, not only observe and honour but present him very considerably, so as he cannot but live well and grow rich; and they will take any just admonition or advice from him if it be respectfully delivered; but if he be impertinent, or what they call a *Galli-pettine*, and thinks to treat them as boys they despise and deride him.

91. And that was the fortune of this doughty doctor; for he had found out that our merchant had a brother, formerly of St. John's College in Cambridge,² whom he pretended to have familiarly known there and upon that score fastened upon him; and he, having a desire to know the bottom of this man's talk concerning his brother, wrote to him to have an account and character of him; which coming, the pappas was laughed at more than ever. He comes to the merchant to know what his brother had wrote: the merchant read the letter audibly to him; then followed complaints that, by means of this letter, he had lost his reputation in the factory; and he desired to have the letter delivered up to him that he might sue the merchant's brother in England for the defamation. A very reasonable request! But the merchant instead of gratifying him in that, told him that it would do him no service at all; for he had lost no reputation by it: and that he

¹ The Whig colour.

² Francis North was admitted of St. John's, 8th June, 1653, and went to the Temple in November, 1655.

would prove to him, by showing, that before that letter was wrote he had none at all ; and opening his copy-book of letters, read to him the letter that he had wrote to his brother from thence, giving his character with divers accounts of his behaviour there which was of that sort as showed him his folly sufficiently ; and so in rage he departed. This young merchant was guilty of another conceit which was no small provocation to his reverence : Once in his study he saw lying upon his desk one of his catechisms and, taking his pen, writes upon it, Broadgate's Broad Way to Bliss Brought forth for the Breeding of the Brutes of Smyrna. But such multitudes of affronts heaped upon him, of which I could give divers instances if they were in any respect material, drove him from the factory ; and afterwards he lived very poorly upon his trade, that is conventionaling, in London.

92. I must often remember, that this young gentleman, however led by his employment into other trains of thought, yet never failed upon all occasions to make philosophic reflections and nicely observed all natural appearances that fell in his way. There is somewhat of this kind in his correspondence with his best brother ; but one thing I have heard him speak of of which there is no touch there, and that is concerning earthquakes. Smyrna is very obnoxious to those impetuosities, and therefore a fit place to collect an account of them. The merchant was clearly of opinion, that those which troubled that place were wholly in the air and not in the earth. He was confirmed in this opinion, by observing that the ships in the road were equally affected as the land ; if the shaking of the water had broke against the sides of the ship it was all it could do ; for the ship would have broke the water before it could have contracted a trembling so swift and short. But the air wrought upon the ship and not upon the water ; therefore the water received its trembling, as the curlings discovered, from the ship and not that from the water.

93. But a more distinguishing observation was this : He was once in a turret above the tiles of the house ; and there, by the rattling of the tiles of the houses on the one side of him, he perceived an earthquake coming and took particular notice of it : it rattled the tiles of all the houses

as it came along ; and, where he was, it ruffled his clothes and rattled the tiles there ; and so went on in a line progressively, rattling the tiles till he perceived it plainly gone beyond the city. And taking notice how its course bore, by his correspondences from cities that lay in the line of its course as near as he could judge, accounts were had that earthquakes had been in those parts as might have well been the continuation of this. It seems that the earth, being so massy and ponderous, is not susceptible of a quick and tremulous action as we know the air is, which, having a spring, readily vibrates. Besides, if the earth moved, the sea would not readily comply, but next the coasts gather undulations which would go off wasting and, at a distance, come to nothing. These concussions in the air being so plainly progressive, amount to a demonstration that the force whencesoever it comes, falls immediately upon the body of air and the impulsive compressions run along like sound according as the valleys of the country lead them. But, what is the original of this tremendous action which overturns cities, as Smyrna in particular, which hath been more than once so served is easier inquired after than resolved. But, when the efficient cause of a paltry common whirlwind is found out, I believe the source of these aerial migrations (if I may so say of earthquakes) will be clearly understood.

94. It is obvious to conceive how another sort of earthquakes, or rather cascades of earth, may happen by means of subterranean fires : for, where there are ignivorous caverns if a bag of water (as the miners term it) breaks in a mountain may be blown up by the explosion it makes and that as easily as a bastion by a gunpowder mine, which glassmakers have found to their cost and danger when a small quantity of water hath accidentally fallen into their fiery metal ; for that blows away furnace and house with it. I have heard our merchant speak of divers volcanoes (as the ignivorous mountains are called) which he saw going up from Italy through the Archipelago towards Smyrna ; and one in particular which they saw by its shining in the night : but they say, it continually wastes and, probably, will at length close up with a dish-top, like most other pices supposed formerly to have been volcanoes.

95. He spoke also of an island in the Archipelago which, in an earthquake not long before he passed by, was blown up and no more of it hath ever since been seen than if it had never been. The consequence was, that the sea was charged and all the coast of Asia soon beached with pumice-stone; and of those spongy stones great quantities remained after he landed ; by which one would think that pumice-stones were only a cinder of volcano fires. It was observed also that before these pumice-stones appeared, the sea itself sunk considerably upon the coast ; which shows that it was no small cavity which could receive as well the whole island as also such an immense quantity of water. I remember, when this gentleman was sheriff of London, and used to attend on horseback to give orders about fires and houses were frequently blown up with gunpowder, he often said, that the sense of those blasts much resembled that which he used to perceive in earthquakes, which more or less are frequently felt in Smyrna.

96. After our merchant was well settled and at ease in his business at Smyrna ; he came upon his trial in order to a seasoning, which most strangers there early or late prove ; and it was what, from some peculiar malign symptoms, they call a Smyrna fever; it is accounted little short of the plague and despatcheth away many. When he found he had the fever, according to the humour of most sick people dispirited he concluded he must die ; and, to those that to comfort him suggested hopes, he answered, " What ! a Smyrna fever and live ! it is impossible." He lay under a great burthen upon his spirits, upon account of his being so far from his best friends and relations, of whom he was always most extremely fond ; but after many turns of better and worse in the distemper, as it pleased God, he recovered.

97. After some years of his residence in Smyrna past, when he thought he had done very well for his master and given him content, a difference sprang betwixt them upon some articles in his accounts, which although of no great import or value were yet of the last consequence for him to have composed ; for if his master from thence should take an umbrage to withdraw his business from him, who had little else in that place to depend upon, he

must leave off and come away ; and that was to be utterly undone. He was sensible that such matters, and so distant, could not well be settled by letter ; for men in discourse, *tête à tête*, will often agree who will never come together by letter ; such advantage hath discoursing over writing. He considered all this and resolved to make a step into England, and (as he used to say) make a hog, or a dog of it. But he had other reasons for this resolution which were, first, to make himself known upon the Exchange and, by contracting friendships and acquaintance, reconcile to him other principals who might send him out again, in case his master persevered in a desperate quarrel against him ; and as to that he might purge himself upon the Exchange and, by referring his difference, make his case known ; and that his master and not he was in the wrong, and so at least make good his credit and reputation among the Turkey merchants : and secondly, to see his relations for whom he had an infinite respect and service, and showed it in his behaviour towards them during his whole life. This was not the least of his reasons for making a turn home, though but for a short enjoyment. I may add a third reason, which was, that if his master dropped him and he could not repair himself by new friends upon the Exchange, he was here at hand to busk for some other employment as his friends or fortune might lift him into.

98. I have heard him relate that, in this voyage homeward, the company on board bound for the same port in Italy, were a poor sort of traders, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, who made profit even of their teeth. With these fellows he was shut up in a Lazaretto to lie a considerable time before they were admitted to traffic. They seemed to decline his company, muttering about his having more money than they who could not keep pace with his expenses : he was loth to break company on that account and told them he would live just as they did ; so they kept together. Here were two conveniences : one was having a little conversation, and the other saving his money which could not be spent in a worse place. And in this course he persevered ; but the diet was such as he protested he thought that, before he got out, he should have been starved. He was obliged to be cook, caterer, and hunt, in

his turn as they were, and without any manner of help or any thing like a servant ; he went with them so near as to wash and dry his own linen. It was his humour to make no account of pains or thought of hardships when his engagements required. I have heard him say, that work of itself was hard and taking care and pains fastidious ; but if it was agreeable to do any thing called work it was not really so but pleasure ; therefore it is incident to the true notion of work not to delight in it.

99. At his first arrival in England he was very melancholy and inclined towards despairing of good success in the employ of a merchant : he had suffered much and laboured hard for divers years and advanced but very little ; and a continuance of that course of life without being better paid, he accounted a slavery, and that he ought to make a better penny of his time and labour or else make the best of a little and enjoy himself at another rate than he had hitherto done. He declared that, if he could have valued himself upon two hundred pounds a year for his life, he would have asked no more of fortune ; for then he would have abandoned business and lived in summer at Venice, and in winter at Florence ; and so reckoned he should have been as happy as his nature would admit. It is a failing young men, for want of experience, fall into : they create Utopias in their own imagination and calculate according to their present fancy and think not what may, and probably would, be their opinion seven years after. They suppose the greatest absurdity, viz. that they shall be always of the same mind which one would think a few years would disprove ; it is a weakness like that of children who fill their eye rather than their belly. There is a satiety even of the best things much more of the meaner sort. And, as many have done to their cost, he would have found his new course a greater slavery than business ; and his repentance had been single, it is true, but continual and lasted to the end of his life. It was one of the chief of his good fortunes that he could not be gratified upon this scheme ; his family could not afford him any thing, and places were not to be had without money ; so his choice was not perplexed, he must stick to his business, there was no other means for him to live

tolerably much less to be rich and considerable ; he thereupon resolved to flounce through and did it with great success, as the series of this relation will demonstrate.

100. In the first place, he resolved to agree with his master cost what it would ; and accordingly condescended to his demand and paid him a hundred pounds, as he affirmed, in his own wrong. And then he courted him and other merchants, for commissions to return with, of which he had a competency ; with that and his own little and the accession of what he could borrow, he went out again to Smyrna with a handsome investment which put him in a better humour than he returned with.

101. I should have mentioned before, that, in his return from Smyrna, he stopped at Venice and stayed there about a month in which time he sated himself with the delights of that city ; he kept his *gondola*, which is like a coach in London, and, with that coursed about the city as the way of travellers and strangers there is. And I make no doubt he informed himself thoroughly of the courtezans and their way of living ; which, in that city, is an entertainment so far from being scandalous that the most reverend of the senators use it. This was one of his once-and-away entertainments with which he said a man might sometimes gratify himself ; a person that is very brisk and airy, can scarce settle close to business until he hath an excursion or two ; and that, he said, was *pur cavar il capriccio*, that is to gratify the fancy.

102. After his return and re-settlement a while at Smyrna, an opportunity proffered itself which transcended all his hopes ; he seized, held fast, and improved it to the utmost advantage, and thereby, in not many years, obtained all that his mind laboured to procure ; which was to advance his fortunes so as he might return home warm, and there settle himself with a family and end his days among his friends and relations. He used to say, that every man at one time or other in his life hath the favour of a fair proffer made him by fortune, and no person qualified to understand and resolved enough to seize such opportunities can wholly miscarry in the world. The fault is, either want of patience to expect, want of sense to know, pride and impertinence to refuse, laziness, or timidity to decline

them. This incident I am about to speak of, was the great crisis of our merchant adventurer's fortunes; therefore I shall distinguish it by taking a new rise thereupon, in giving a farther account of his life.

MR. NORTH'S REMOVAL FROM SMYRNA TO
CONSTANTINOPLE.

103. THERE was a celebrated house of factorage in Constantinople, of which Mr. William Hedges was the chief. The business of this house had been very great, but, for want of skilful accountants and fitting conduct, it was lapsed into utmost disorder and confusion, and needed better workmen than the present managers to recover it. Mr. Hedges, finding himself not capable for such a laborious work, was so wise to pitch upon our merchant at Smyrna, and accordingly invited him up to Constantinople and to take a part in their *ragion*, or house. There were but two upon the place, Mr. Hedges, and one Mr. Palmer, as I remember his name was. These two had great interest and large commissions from England, but our merchant very little compared with their's; so in that respect he gained enough by the change. But that which swayed him most was the advantage to be made by trade in that great city, and with the court and with the dealers that came together and resided for the sake of trade there, from most parts of the world; there not being a greater emporium upon the face of the earth than Constantinople, the seat of a vast empire and where a merchant of spirit and judgment cannot fail of being rich.

104. When he came up he found the factory in great disorder. The estates of the principals, as well as of the house, trusted out in a loose way and the accounts unskilfully kept; whereby, as the nature of such business is, they had been carried on into multiplicity of errors upon errors; so that no one man's accounts in the books stood true; nor was there any direct means to charge the debtors or good grounds to go to law upon; and this, not in a few but in numerous instances of very great import, and which concerned the merchants at London as well as themselves. The gentlemen of the house were in a miz-maze and knew not how to take one step towards extricating themselves and their

business, and, in a word, they were at their wit's end ; for without a speedy rectification of this disorder, the reputation of the house as well as their own, and the principals' estates had gone to wreck. Good fortune was *ambidexter* here ; for, as nothing could have fallen out more exquisitely adapt to Mr. North's desires, so on the other side no person in the world could have been found out and chosen more fitly qualified for the occasion than he was ; and in this respect I may venture to style him a *phœnix* and depend upon what follows for a demonstration of it.

105. At his first arrival, he applied himself to the business of the house and wrought very hard to make himself master of it. And although Mr. Hedges was head of the *ragion*, yet Mr. North fell into the whole direction and management ; and the other finding him, as he expected, intelligent, industrious, and successful, had the discretion to let him alone and interposed not to give him any disturbance at all ; which is more than can be said of the other partner after he was gone ; but of that in due place. There were divers persons of good value, as the dragomen, escrivains, &c. who had dependence on the house, and admired that Mr. Hedges should quit the helm all at once to this new partner. Of these some, for friendship to him but more out of petulance, insinuated their sentiments so as might have created uneasiness or difference betwixt them ; as for instance, whether it was for his honour to submit all his concerns in that manner ? And once, one urging him upon the point a little closer, he only nodded towards Mr. North and said, “*Ecc' il padron,*” or “There's your master.” After that, finding who was master indeed, they behaved themselves with entire respect towards him.

106. As to the business itself, first the accounts were to be regulated, which was an immense work and not to be done but by beginning a new set of books and making new entries of all the open accounts, so as they might be understood and stand true, the old ones serving only as waste whereout to pick the items of the transactions as they had been done. Merchants are infinitely curious in the fairness, regularity, and justice of their books, which they esteem as authentic registers concerning not only themselves but all other persons that they have had dealings with, or may

derive interests thereupon ; and to such books appeals are commonly made ; for they are, or ought to be, the truth, whole truth, and nothing but the truth of all that is done and disposed in a method, viz. by waste, journal, and ledger, the most exquisite for repertory and use that the wit of man, with utmost application, hath been able to frame. These and other virtues of regular book-keeping, are well known to those who understand the practice of it ; so no more need be said here of it. It is enough to affirm that our merchant was completely qualified for this branch ; since there was not a more dexterous and exact accountant, as to the use of merchandise and traffic, than he was ; and his mastery in this respect was demonstrated in England, when he was posted at the head of greater affairs than common merchandise ; as after will be made appear.

107. The next Herculean labour was to state and recover the debts of the *ragion*, which must be done, and the dependences determined by fair means or foul ; and then they must rest contented and sit down by losses that are unavoidable. The merchants have a proverb, “ Better a loss at sea than a bad debt at land.” The former has no worse consequence than itself, but the other draws loss of time and pains which might be employed to more profit. His rule therefore was, if he could not get in all that was due from the debtor, he got by composition, barter, or other means, as much as he could, and so closed the account. These debts lay much among the Jews and trading Turks, the scum of human kind ; and often without any good evidence to charge them ; whereby, if they had known their advantages, near all had been lost. But consciousness hath this good effect : a man is apt to suspect that what he knows to be true is also as well known by his adversary, and that what is really done may be proved. Therefore, when our merchant charged these debtors home and with a visage of the greatest assurance, they very often owned the debt, paid part and took time for the rest ; when, in truth, the merchant could not at law have charged a scruple upon them ; and when fair means, such as in this and other manners he used, would not do, he applied to the Turkish justice before whom divers owned the debt, which, elsewhere, they had denied ; and

so, one way or other, he made conclusions of his dependences. This trade lasted many years and obliged him to spend most of his time in hurrying about the city of Constantinople, for finding out and speaking with people; which, in a hot country, close and populous city, almost wore him down; and often at night, when he came home, till some kind refreshment brought him to consistence, he was scarce alive.

108. As to the law part of his business, it was so much as in the end gave him a competent skill in the rules and methods of the Turkish justice; whereby in common incidents he could advise himself and assist his friends. This skill (if I may make the comparison) was such as we may observe understanding citizens of London to have in the common law of England, by which they are enabled to deal upon secure terms; but how far that differs from the skill of a professed lawyer, I need not declare. I have heard our merchant say, that he had tried in the Turkish courts above five hundred causes; and, for the most part, used no dragomen, or interpreters, as foreigners commonly do, but in the language of the country spoke for himself. He observed that many fair causes were lost by the indiscretion of the dragomen, who neither took nor delivered the matters justly, as he himself, using his own notions and expressions, could do.

109. For these and other purposes of his negotiation, he had laboured to gain, and had thereby acquired, a ready use of the Turkish language and could speak it fluently. I have heard him say that, for scolding and railing, it was more apt than any other language; and he had used it so much that way that afterwards, when he was in England and much provoked, his tongue would run into Turkish of itself; as if to such purposes it were his mother speech. He told us, he once composed a Turkish dictionary and showed the ordinary idiotisms and analogies of that language. As for instance, varying the case mood or tense, not as we by terminations, but by syllables in the middle of a word; as Mahmet, Mahummet. This seems as old Abram and Abraham; and the words he collected were disposed alphabetically; and he wished he had taken more care to preserve it; for it was pirated out of his house and he

could never find who had it; perhaps it may be now in England, in the hands of Dr. Covell. He not only spoke but wrote Turkish very well, and did it after the Levant manner resting the paper on his left hand and beginning from the right. There is great reason for their writing that way, as for ours contrarily. If we should hold the paper upon the left and lean towards the right, the action would carry forwards the paper and there would be nothing to stop it; but they from the right bear the paper against the ball, or rising of the hand, which stops it firm against the going of the pen. Upon desks either way is practicable; but with this difference that, from the right, the pen is apt to shade the writing, but, from the left, all is open to view; and the Turks to help this inconvenience a little, seldom write square, but beginning high, draw down their lines a little across the paper, and in so doing, affect a strange but not uncomely irregularity. The Nation maintained a Turkish Effendi, or priest, at a salary, who was to attend every day for the purpose of Turkish writing, especially letters, which must be done with a formal address according to the quality and condition of the persons wrote to. This was a grave old man who was a doctor in addresses and forms of concluding; but as to business, our merchant commonly took the wording of it to himself, not trusting and often overruling the effendi; with whose expressions in mercantile affairs he was seldom satisfied.

110. As to matters of the law, he had certain schemes by which he governed himself and seldom failed of a prosperous success. One was, to make and cultivate an interest or friendship with some grave and reasonable Cadi, or person learned in the laws, and keep him in good humour by frequent though small presents; much short of what the feeing of a single counsel in England would amount to. And in all his doubtful matters, he resorted to his learned friend for advice which he faithfully gave him; and as he encouraged, or not, so the merchant ruled himself and found great benefit and security thereby. He was very fortunate in this practice; for a certain grave cadi who was a knowing, faithful, and humane person, fell to his share. Once a green-head Turk (one of Mahomet's

kindred so distinguished) made him a proposition with terms of vast profit; but suspecting his reverence might have some trick in reserve, he repaired to his learned counsel who, being made sensible of the matter, clapped his hand on his own great turban, "Merchant, merchant," said he, "deal not with these green-heads of ours, for there is none of them so empty but will afford wit enough to cheat you." There needed no more; the merchant made his obeisance and retired clearly satisfied with his deliverance, and, for the future, resolved to deal with the devil as soon as with a green-head.

111. Another of his schemes (not a little the practice of most Franks residing in Turkey) was, before a trial, to show the judge a respect by making him a small present and then to make his cause known to him before he brought it on. The judge ordinarily takes this in better part than a great present, and nothing of the cause said along with it; for that implied that the cause was bad and that he was to be corrupted. If the suitors or the cause be considerable and no present at all is given, the judge looks upon himself to be slighted or rather defrauded; for he accounts something is due to him for doing justice, not much unlike what is here termed fees, only without state or rule as the European way is; and such omission is not wholesome even for a good cause. Their law hath so many turns and subtleties that a judge, if he will use an artful conduct, may find plausible colours to sustain or baffle almost any cause; as may be done even amongst us; for, if a judge will take a liberty to presume on the one side and hold the other to a strict proof, the cause goes which way he pleaseth. The judges in Turkey will not ordinarily do flat injustice for any present; and if neither side slights them, how unequal soever the presents are, they will determine according to right. But this argues not that all are such, but many are corrupt judges that direct their decrees to the fairest chapman; and it were well if there were none such any where else. Here we mean of the community, neither rigidly precise, as some are, nor desperately wicked in their way, as others may be; and as he alleged, in opposition to those who think that all things are arbitrary and corrupt there, as if so mighty an empire could stand upon

those terms. Allowance ought to be made for the various sentiments remote nations have of the same methods. Here with us, a present to a judge of a cause depending though silently made by one of the parties, is unlawful and accounted no better than a bribe ; there, it is not only lawful but expected as a kind of duty to the judge. Here, for a party to offer at instructing the judge in private is intolerable, and the judge that endures it professedly partial. There, it is the best way for a suitor to go to the judge and make known his case, by which the judge esteems himself much better able to judge rightly when it comes judicially before him. There is no sight in the comparison whether their methods or ours are best ; the sequel may perhaps show somewhat tending to a decision ; and in the mean time, let it be remembered that there are no processes, arrests, bailiffs, bails, spongings, dilatories, errors or appeals, as I shall observe more particularly afterwards.

112. Another scheme of our merchant's law-conduct was touching proofs. The Turkish law rigidly holds every person to prove all the facts of his case by two Turkish witnesses, which makes the dealing with a view of a dispute extremely difficult ; for which reason the merchants usually take writing : but that hath its infirmity also ; for the witnesses are required to prove not only the writing, which with us is enough, but they must prove every fact contained in it to be true or else the evidence is insufficient. It fell out sometimes that, when he had a righteous cause, the adversary was knavish and would not own the fact ; and he had not regular and true witnesses to prove it : he made no scruple in such case to use false ones ; and certain Turks, that had belonged to the factory and knew the integrity of their dealing, would little scruple to attest facts to which they were not privy and were paid for it. I have heard the merchant say, he had known that, at trials, Turks, standing by unconcerned have stepped forwards to help at a dead lift (as they tell of a famous witnessing attorney, who used to say at his trial, " Doth it stick ? give me the book ") and these expect to be paid ; and the merchants fail not to send them the premio ; else they may cause great inconveniences. Nay, a merchant there will directly hire a Turk to swear the fact of which

he knows nothing ; which the Turk doth out of faith he hath in the merchant's veracity ; and the merchant is very safe in it, for without two Turks to testify he cannot be accused of the subornation. This is not, as here, accounted a villainous subornation but an ease under an oppression, and a lawful means of coming into a just right. The Christian oath is not in the case so there is no profanation ; and (upon the whole) the morality of the action seems to depend on the pure justice and right, and not upon the regularity (in a Christian sense) of the means. The Turks in their country are obliged, as we are here, by the rules of common justice. But it is to be supposed that, being here, they would not regard our forms but would get their right, if they might, by infringing them all. So we, in that country, are obliged in common honesty to observe even their law of right and equity ; but have no reason to regard their forms ; and the compassing a right by any means contrary to them all is not unreasonable. But to apprehend these diversities, one must have a strong power of thought to abstract the prejudices of our domestic education and plant ourselves in a way of negotiating in heathen remote countries.

113. Our merchant found by experience that in a direct fact, a false witness was a surer card than a true one ; for if the judge has a mind to baffle a testimony, a harmless honest witness that doth not know his play cannot so well stand his many captious questions as a false witness, used to the trade, will do ; for he hath been exercised and is prepared for such handling, and can clear himself when the other will be confounded ; therefore, if there be true witness, circumstances may be such as shall make the false ones more eligible.

114. Our merchant told us, that the French had a mind to rebuild their old church which had lain long in ruins, and to make it larger than formerly it had been : but that could not be done ; for the Turkish law prohibits it ; and they were forced to go before the judge and obtain an *odgett*, or judicial declaration, what were the dimensions of the old church before they could attempt to build the new one. They hoped to prevail with the judge to allow their intended enlargement ; but he required witness that

it was so before ; and they tried and tried but could not make the proof to his satisfaction. At length a grave Turk, with a long beard, came in of his own accord and, saluting the judge, asked what the business was, which being told him he stroked his beard and, by tide and by token, made a better witness than they ever expected to find or procure ; which was a greater surprise because, by his grave entry, they knowing his character, feared he came to testify against them. Upon this the *odgett* passed and the building went on ; and the willing judge was very well satisfied. But the French had advice given them to send this old man his fee or else he would have found out a way to have spoiled all again.

115. Notwithstanding all our industrious merchant's endeavours, many of his suits failed ; but he had not only those but divers other crosses such as will happen in a multiplicity of dealing, out of which he had learnt a most useful principle of life ; which was, "to lay nothing to heart which he could not help ;" and, how great soever disappointments had fell out (if possible), to think of them no more but to work on upon other affairs and, if not all, some would be better natured. I have known when the rebellious spirit hath risen he hath conjured it down by saying in great zeal, "The Pope hath not his will, the king of France hath not his will, the king of England hath not his will, the devil hath not his will, and by G—— I will not have my will." I have heard him say, that when for want of proof he lost a just cause, he hath said to the adversary, "Well, you have thought fit to deny my debt before the judge knowing I had trusted you without witness, and so think to cheat me ; but, depend upon it, I will exact the utmost farthing from you in the next world where all truths will be known." And some men, upon such menace, have come and paid the debt to be acquitted in the next world ; for the Turkish religion teacheth that, in the next world, all just debts and demands will be rigorously required to be paid and performed, with strange severities to fall upon them that in the former world refused to be just.

116. Our merchant had once a great honour done him by the cadi of Constantinople. There was a very intricate

cause at trial before him, between two Armenian or Greek merchants; both sides had good colours and a great noise and clamour was made, and the judge could not to his satisfaction unravel the matter. Our merchant had been once a sort of arbitrator betwixt them and attended to hear how the cause went. Both parties talked much of Signor North, that he knew this and that to be true, and that he having examined all circumstances knew that the one and the other (for both claimed him) had right. The cadi asked where this Signor North, they so much talked of, was; and one, spying him in the court, said, "there he is." The cadi called him out and required him to speak all his knowledge of that business. He thereupon, in the Turkish language, made a large and limpid deduction of the whole cause, and concluded that in strictness the law might be for one party, but he thought the equity lay on the other side. Neither side controverted any thing that he had related, but admitted the fact and circumstances to be so. Whereupon the judge, without more ado, decreed for the equity; and so the cause ended.

117. Once he was put in a terrible fright before that cadi: a perverse impudent knave of a Turk made a false demand against him, but prevailed not; and then, like an able counsel for himself, fell to railing and personal reflections: he told the cadi, that man was an insolent unbeliever and had been for divers years an oppressor and had made miserable many of the Grand Signor's subjects, with a world of opprobrious terms as might have given the cadi handle enough, had he been so inclined, to have done him some mischief. The merchant stood still and replied not one word; and still the Turk went on: at last the cadi looked sour, and, raising himself up, fell foul upon the Turk for blaspheming the Grand Signor's righteous government, by pretending that such a monster of iniquity should live and breathe in his dominions; and, "chick," said he, that is, "run away," or he would make him an example. This was a comfortable deliverance to the merchant who knew how apt the Turks are to take small occasion to squeeze out great sums of money from strangers that come in their way.

118. Having said thus much of our merchant's dealings

in the law, it may not be amiss to add what I have heard him say concerning the law itself. First, it is remarkable that the religion of the people and the law and justice of the country are one and the same, and lean wholly upon their Alcoran : for, in all emergent causes of civil right, what the doctors of the law have declared or the immediate judge shall say is the sense of the Alcoran touching that matter, is the law final and incontrovertible : and the mufti who is head of the religion is also head of the law ; for which cause the people often apply to him to know the law in certain points they propose to him, which he declares in a short writing given out, which they call a *fetfa*. As, for instance, "If one man may be punished for another's fault?" And his *fetfa* will be, "That he shall not." And in like manner, upon such general questions as suitors at law think may be of use to them in their causes ; and accordingly they exhibit them before the judge, who hath a due regard to them. The virtue of this institution is, that the law of the country, whatever it is taken to be, is unalterable by any human power. There are no new edicts or statutes for changing the law in any respect, either to be made or repealed ; but every person, even the government itself and all its ministers, must stand to the law whatever the quality is, the grand signor's person (perhaps) only excepted. For, in the whole empire, of right there is neither prerogative nor privilege ; the least person may take the greatest basha below the girdle (for above is an assault) and say, "Come to the noble law ;" and if he refuseth, he is in great danger of being ill used by the people, who have an extreme veneration for the law and will compel every man that is required to go before a judge.

119. This law of theirs, by subtle commentations and wild inferences expressed out of the Alcoran, is a very intricate and voluminous learning ; and they have colleges where students are taught and trained up in it as we have for divinity and law ; and, when those students are grown up to be professors, they are sent about to be cadis in cities all over the empire : but, paying for their places, by necessary consequence are more or less rapacious, and extorting of money. As to the skill itself, it seems to have

a great analogy with our common law ; for that the learned say, is custom immemorial. But how is that to be known ? It is answered, by the declarations of the judges. How then in a case perfectly new ? It is answered, by argument from natural equity, parity of reason with respect to cases nearly parallel, and opinions scattered in the law-books ; and, after all, the judges do but declare what they take to be custom immemorial. The Alcoran hath few or no express cases or rules such as being plain and direct deserve to be termed laws ; but a world of jargon and rhapsody of words, which may be wrested to every one's fancy ; and that sense which the learned in former times have taken, is the sense of the Alcoran and, consequently, the law. To bring this to a system applicable to the promiscuous dealings of men, the doctors have tormented the poor text and their successors have tormented their works, by interpretations and comments. And when new cases happen, which neither text nor comment comes up to, yet the judge determines according to the law of Mahomet ; and that is the sense of the Alcoran, as with us it is ancient custom, though nothing of either is to be found respectively to square with it. But the numerous and perpetual controversies and lawsuits, wherein the sentences of the judges have been commonly observed and known, have established a body of law by which men are instructed to deal securely one with another ; and, as I said, it is become, not unlike ours, a sort of common law.

120. Another sovereign virtue of the Turkish law is, that every man is his own bailiff and summoner, without the plague of process, returns, alias, pluries, and I know not what hooks and crooks, that often beggar a suitor before he can bring his adversary to answer him. But a man, as was said, requiring the adversary to go before the judge, he must without shift or delay go ; and, if he offers to escape, a thing scarce known there, he must run quite away ; for the very people will almost destroy him if they catch him. Here is no suing out a writ, going to the sheriff, from him to the bailiff, with a farther train of ill consequences I am ashamed to remember. And it is a prodigious wonder that, in a civilized country pretending to liberty and laws, men should so little consider that all

the court process of law had its original in conquest and the consequent tyranny of the conqueror, who made himself the vender of common justice; and the trade is still kept a-foot by corrupt interests; and after all, that they should idolize this dreg of slavery and blindly support a direct oppression of themselves, as if it were really a happy economy of justice and liberty.

121. Another virtue, and a singular one, is that no man answers by attorney but in proper person only. The course is, when the parties come before the judge, the plaintiff makes his demand for money lent, the price of goods sold, or the like. The judge sits all the while with his paper upon his hand and writes his minutes. "What say you to it?" says he to the other; and then he makes his defence. If there be a writing showed, the defendant fails not to own it; there are no *non est factums* for pure delay to be tried. It is there infamous in the greatest degree for a man to deny his writing, when showed to him before a judge or indeed any matter of fact that is true, after it appears to have been so to his knowledge. What a vast retrenchment of delay and charge is this? Men answering in person, can scarce be brought to speak false; they must be strangely abandoned to all shame that in the face of a court without stammering or blushing, will do so. Whereas, when they sit at home and leave their attorneys and counsel to plead for them, there shall be false pleas for delay professedly, and no concern at all to their countenances.

122. The Turkish law seems to have another virtue, which lies in the method of proof. After the judge hath heard the demand and the answer; he considers on which side the proof lies. If the dealing be denied, as by the defendant's saying he bought no goods of the plaintiff or the like, the judge bids the demander prove it. And if witnesses are not ready, he gives a few days to bring them, because he might expect the other party would have owned the dealing; but if he said, "It is true, I bought the goods, but I paid him for them;" then the judge bids the defendant prove. But he will never let witness come to swear on both sides to one and the same fact, for that is to make sure of a perjury; so, in a Turkish court witnesses never con-

front and, upon oath, contradict one another. But being once taken as witnesses the cause is at an end, the demand is made and proved, what would you have more? But yet, if the witnesses are not credible, that exception is allowed and witnesses heard to prove it and the judge determines thereupon, whether he shall believe the witnesses, or not, and accordingly judges of the main.

123. Another admirable virtue of the Turkish law is, that decrees or decisions never fight one with another, and yet the party hath the benefit of an appeal. They call their decree an *odgett*, which is a small scrip or ticket which the judge writes upon his hand, and gives out to the party that hath obtained sentence. After this *odgett* made and signed and given out, no judicature or authority in the empire, can question or discharge the matter or the effect of it; not the great Divan, although the *odgett* were made by the meanest judge in the empire. This seems to resemble the laws of the Medes and Persians, when a decree might not be revoked. It is certain that, in Turkey, there cannot be more than one *odgett* or decree in one and the same cause. A Turkish judge would laugh if he were told of our judgments, writs of error, and error upon error, appeals, reviews, &c. with full and entire sentence of the cause pronounced in all and the latter giving the former ill language, and looking as if a judgment in a cause were but a foundation whereupon to commence a new suit, to the incomprehensible delay and expense wherewith the parties, their heirs and assigns, are tormented. But it will be said, how then can the parties have an appeal? As to that, if either side thinks the judge unskilful or partial, at any time before *odgett* made, he may appeal to a superior judge; and then the cause is as if it had not been heard, but the parties go before the judge by appeal as if the cause originally came before him, and then he makes the *odgett*; but whoever makes it the *odgett* is irreversible.

124. A farther virtue of the Turkish law is this: all equity is comprehended in it. Men there are bound by their contracts as well as here; but if a contract prove very unequal, the judge takes notice of the reasonableness and gives relief. As, if a man takes a house to build at half the true value; when the work is done he may sue in a

quantum meruit for the whole, and it is enough to say, "I thought I might have done it for the price but was mistaken." This goes farther than our courts of equity; for they do not relieve against any hard bargains, without fraud or circumvention proved. It hath been said, they do not sit there to relieve fools; but if we consider well, it will be found that all persons circumvented by fraud are so far within that denomination. But granting full relief may be had, what doth it cost to come at it? In this respect the Turkish law is simple; for it not only disallows all over-reaching bargains, but the judgment of them falls proper in one and the same suit, which party soever promotes it. And even here, very good patriots have declared it fit that the court, having jurisdiction of the cause in point of law, should also judge of the equity emergent thereupon; but the present constitution doth not allow it. The civilians reproach the common law saying it wants equity and needs a particular judicature to supply it. But I think theirs worse; for they have no mitigations and all is *summum jus*. And then they contradict themselves, saying *Apices juris non sunt jura*, and more grossly leap over their law judging as they say, *ex autoritate*, against law, which in their language is *nobile officium judicis*. But the Turkish law seems in these respects to be most consistent, and complete.

125. One thing more I will venture to allege in favour of the Turkish law which is of admirable use, and that is their dispatch. A cause seldom lasts a week; and very often is opened and determined in a day; and there is scarce any means to prolong it but demanding time to produce testimony to facts, about which the parties happen to differ, and there alleging and answering for themselves orally before the judge keeps down differences of facts. For the pride or shame of the parties, as well as integrity, will make them save proving and for the most part own what they know to be true; and so bring the matter in judgment upon the right point. I have heard much of aiding public credit or trust among men; but believe it is not to be had without contriving some methods of law and justice that may entirely satisfy them.

126. It may be objected here, that this proceeding is

precipitous and (corruption apart) for want of advice and deliberation of the parties as well as on the part of the judge, wrong may be done; and justice is a sacred thing and ought to have the greatest regard. It is granted that justice is a rare thing if it may be had; but if it is to be gained by sailing through a sea of delays, repetitions, and charges, really it may be as good a bargain to stay at home a loser. A wrong determination expedite is better than a right one after ten years vexation, charge, and delay. A good cause immediately lost is, in some respects, gained; for the party hath his time and tranquillity of mind reserved to himself, to use as he pleaseth; which is a rare thing in the opinion of those who have felt the want of both and of their money to boot. The reason why justice is so sacred is not because the cause of suit or thing claimed, in itself is of any great regard, (for that argument will bring all things to a levelling, as why should one man have too much and another want?) but because it preserves peace and quietness among men, which is the greatest of all temporal good things. And consequently wrong judgments soon and final have the virtue of justice, because peace and quietness are thereby preserved. But delays have an effect directly to the contrary; for those maintain feuds and hatred, as well as loss of time and money; so that, if it be said that in the end justice is secured thereby (which I do not grant) I answer it is done by unjust means, and comes to the same. "But is it not a sad thing," say some, "for a man to be hurried out of his right?" I answer, "Is it not a sad thing a man should have a fever?" As the body, so the estate, must be obnoxious to infirmities; there is no perfection in either state; and that is always best which is shortest and hath the least anguish or pain.

127. I shall allege but one instance farther where I think the Turkish law is remarkably distinguished, and is on the criminal side. If a man comes to the judge and with clamour, as the way is, complains that he is robbed of his goods; the cadi will ask him, "By whom? and where is the thief?" and if he says he does not know (perhaps) punish him as a *fourbe*, that pretends to be robbed to cheat his creditors. "What!" says he, "doth not the grand

signor protect his subjects? If you are robbed find the thief and right shall be done: if you want help take an officer, but do not accuse the grand signor's righteous government." Now to add here a word or two of their criminal justice, I shall observe, that it is executed with such rigour, as keeps down offences so effectually that, in that great city of Constantinople, there are not so many men executed for thievery in some years as in one, nay, I may say in one sessions, at London. If a thief is caught, they make more account of him by discovering others, than by the example of his punishment. And they handle him at such a rate that he cannot but discover all he knows. He shall sometimes be secretly chained to an officer and so go about the city, and whom he points to is taken up. The first thing done, is to see that he makes full amends to the person robbed; and when that person declares he is satisfied he is sent away with a menace, that he concern not himself for favour to that man. And after all, what hath this poor thief to reward him for all his ingenuity and service to the public by discovering? Nothing but to die without torment; for if the judge be dissatisfied of his behaviour, he makes such a public torture of him as must terrify all rogues from the like practices; otherwise he is committed to an officer to be simply hanged, and then that officer takes him into the street and chooseth what man's sign, or post, he pleases, and constrains whom he thinks fit to perform the ceremony; and a Frank, if he comes by unluckily at that time, is not safe from being preferred to the employment.

128. I have related these instances of legal proceeding in Turkey, which we had from our merchant in a long series of conversation after his return home, because I know that no person from England ever brought home more knowledge of Turkey than he did, and more especially in the nature of their laws, which he had used and practised as a native amongst them; and also, because I think them very considerable in the science of legislature as well as for conference with our European methods. And farther, because there is a common opinion that Turkey hath no law nor property, but the will of the powers there is the law to the people; "and how intoler-

able is it," say they, "that one single judge sitting upon his legs determines every man's right; and how obnoxious is that constitution to be corrupted; whereupon there is ground to say the very justice of the country is slavery." Yet in answer to this, two things may be alleged. First, that it is impossible politically to contrive that he who hath power to judge right should not have also power to judge wrong, and by one means or other be bribed or corrupted so to do. Secondly, it is a question whether, in experience, the ordinary checks by the European laws set up to control this arbitrary power of judging, by numerous forms, dilatories, processes, offices, allegations, and probations without end, to say nothing of errors and appeals touched before, are found to have much mended the matter? I shall not stay to enlarge in answer to this question, because I would offend none nor give too much occasion to be thought either petulant in depreciating the laws of our own country, or treacherous in seeming to undermine what many (however mistakenly) think the security of their liberty and properties.

129. The great oppressions in Turkey are of the Greek subjects who, by the governors, are used ill enough; which may have occasioned an opinion that such proceeding is universal. Whereas, when a man dies, the justice takes an account and sees the assets collected and divided as steadily, according to their rules of law, as here under the act for distribution of intestates' estates, unless the deceased hath belonged to the court or been an officer under the government; then indeed, as in Holland and other places, the magistrate seizes all, with the books, &c. upon supposal of the party's having cheated the state; after which it is very difficult to get matters cleared. But in Turkey, at the worst, they allow some maintenance to the family and are contented to swallow only the rest. But in the main, corruption enough no doubt; and where is it not so? If it is found there, that mean men truckle under the tyranny of the greater and bear oppression rather than offend them; here men truckle for fear of the law itself, and let their just right and property go rather than launch into a deluge of officers, counsellors, and forms. Evils plenty may be presumed in all places; and according

to the proverb, “Might overcomes right” every where. So the question is not of sincerity or corruption but of more or less of either, and also of the consequences there-upon. And so I conclude this (perhaps too) long string of items concerning the methods of law in Turkey.

130. It is time now to return to the person and mercantile affairs of our merchant. After Mr. Hedges came for England and left him, which was as soon as he saw his business advanced and in a fair way to be wholly set right, Mr. North and Mr. Palmer continued the *ragion* at Constantinople. Mr. Palmer was one that would talk but do nothing. If he would have been contented to have enjoyed his own jovial company and wine, to which he was addicted in continual excess, and to have taken the profit of his partner’s great labour and pains without contributing the least share of his own trouble towards it, Mr. North had been wonderfully well satisfied. But he was so far from being contented with that as to be continually interposing, teasing, and vexing, but never really assisting him. It was his custom always to finish his own business, that is to get very drunk, before night; and then Mr. North usually returned home tired with his day labour, weary as he could live; and often, when his affairs had not succeeded well as he thought it reasonable to have expected, discontented in mind. In that dejected state, he either freely or as he was asked by his partner gave accounts how matters went, and what he had done that day; and instead of a little comfort for his pains, as a cheerful countenance and (since things would be no better) an approbation, the other had no brains to understand what was done and his drink made him rude; so that well or ill he was sure to blame every thing: one was too much and another too little, one too soon and another too late, and ever somewhat should have been done that was not done over or under done; and, in short nothing right; which was enough to break the spirit of a true pains-taker. And every man that labours sincerely in a common cause and finds blame instead of acceptance, must be sensible what a vexatious thing it is, “*Ben servire et non gradire, cosa che fa morire,*” that is, “To do good service and never be thanked for it, is enough to break one’s heart.” And all

this extremity, not at times, but continually. I have heard our merchant say, that, coming home weary, he hath often sat down at the door and durst not go in for fear of his partner, whose usage was more fastidious to him than all the toil of the whole day. It may be said a remedy was at hand, that is, parting ; a remedy, it is true, but not so easy as seems ; however it proved to be the true physic at last. Thus stood the case :—

131. These partners lived in a great house, and what with servants, escrivains, and other attendances (as their business required) at a great expense, all which went into the *ragion* ; and, if that had declined, as must have been the consequence if the house had lost its credit, all must break up and be gone. The business from England was more from Mr. Palmer's interest and from his friends than from any friends or principals Mr. North could value himself upon. Therefore, if Mr. Palmer was excluded the greatest part of the employment of the house fell off. This was a wolf by the ears which the merchant scarce knew how to hold or to let go. At length, after a world of reflection and consideration and having weighed all circumstances, he resolved to break, hoping that in a solitary capacity he might enjoy in peace that little he had acquired.

132. When this purpose of his was fully matured so as not to be diverted by any incident, he told his partner of it and that they must necessarily divide. And about the same time he made his dispatches to all the principals in England, and correspondents of the factory in other nations ; and, where it was decent, he gave a clear account of the reasons of this separation which I guess were satisfactory to the chief of them ; for, as soon as the rupture was known upon the Exchange and the merchants fell to deliberating which of these two factors to employ, the determination proved entirely in Mr. North's favour, as I shall show. He, with great precaution and prudence and all at once, struck off his expensive way of living. He left the great house and retired to a private and cheap way of maintaining himself. He kept what warehouses he had occasion for and passed his time in negotiating those affairs he had the entire command of, just as if he had

been a puny factor newly sent out from England. And in that state he wrought with pleasure and slept with ease, neither of which could be done in the house with his partner.

133. The principals soon found (as I said) which of the two was fittest to be relied on and, besides a full justification, he applied so ingeniously and respectfully to them offering his service and engaging to use the utmost diligence and application in all concerns wherein they should think fit to employ him; and having already showed himself in all respects competent for their business, much the greater part of them sent out all their commissions to him only and dropped the other who soon fell to nothing. When our merchant began to feel the business return to him, he left his private way of living and took to his great house again, and conducted the factory in a state of as great credit as ever it had. This was one of his bold strokes, whereby he did not seek to palliate an inconvenience but rescinded it all at once. And this change of his measures may be accounted the first advanced post gained in the course of his fortunes; for now he was superior, and felt himself master of his work and of himself that, all his life before, had been under some degree of subjection.

134. The merchants do not care to trust single persons in factories abroad because, upon their deaths happening there is danger of embezzlements. When there are two or more in partnership all is safe; and upon adjunct of a new partner or two the business goes on as before. Therefore our merchant, finding himself head of his house and greatly intrusted, thought it necessary to give the principals the satisfaction of seeing an able partner settled in the house with him. He had a brother, Mr. Mountagu North, who had been regularly bred a Turkey merchant and then resided as a factor in business at Aleppo, which is one of the English factories in Turkey. He thought he could not do better than to take him into the *ragion*, and as he himself was sent for up from Smyrna, so to send for his brother up to him from Aleppo, which would be equally a preferment and satisfy the principals. Besides, whenever he left the country, of which he had a continual view, his brother would remain in his place a trusty and able factor

planted and instructed by himself in possession of a factory, to whom he might adjoin other partners as he pleased. And this design he put in execution ; and under the same economy, the house, being supplied from time to time with factors from England, hath been and still continues in good credit to this day. And, in the mean time, the content our merchant had in the exchange from a sottish, morose, unsatisfied partner to that of a brother and friend, and having been always peculiarly fond of his relations, is inexpressible. Now in this happy state of partnership we must leave him and observe, as much as may be, his way of dealing which brought him in his great riches, which was not in the common road and little practised either before or since.

135. Upon the failing of Mr. Palmer, as I take it, Mr. North was chosen treasurer of the Turkey Company ; an office the Turks call Hasnadar. His former dealings, and that business, led him to know and (beyond personal acquaintance) to have friendships with divers of the bashas, beys, and Turks in authority. He was sensible of two great defects of accommodation in his way of living : one was, for the ease of his mind, a fire-tight room, where he might secure goods from the danger of fire, which happens often in and about Constantinople. And the other was a sofa room, wherein he might receive and entertain the Turks that came to visit him after their own way. This sort of room will be found described in his History of Avanias. He found that these conveniences could not be obtained without building them ; and accordingly he resolved upon it. In the first place he made the house his own by purchasing it right out, and, by some contrivance in the law, had it assured to him. He found it very difficult to get lime enough ; and, being sold by weight as all things, even stones, are in Turkey, it proved very dear. The Turks at Constantinople use no sand with their lime, because, as I suppose, they have it not but from the sea, which is saline and unfit ; but instead of that, they use beaten brick which they account makes the better cement. He found a very clever way of coming to these provisions ; for, being well acquainted with Bobahassan, a bey of a galley, he procured of him a string of slaves out of his *chiurm*, with a *capo*, to work in his building.

136. The bey was very willing to do this piece of service to the merchant, with whom he had dependences in trade and loans to a great value ; and it both gratified the slaves and saved their meat. The merchant gave to each of them an asper (little less than a penny) a day and a quart of sour wine ; and for food a caldron of pottage, which might be called a Spanish olio, made of all sorts of offal from the kitchen, as of beef, bacon, fat, bread, herbs, roots, and what not, in scraps and scrapings boiled soundly together ; this they ate with the greatest content imaginable, and of all things begged to be sent to this service. Their work was to dig up all the yards and search for stone, and they raised upon the spot what nearly served the turn ; for the soil was all no other than ruin upon ruin of buildings, which former wars upon wars had made. Not only the stones of walls and houses came up, but grave-stones, pieces of coffins, and sepulchres rose, and all filled their places in the building. Another employ they had was to go about the city and gather brick-bats to beat into powder for mortar ; and he used to wonder where the poor fellows found such quantities as they brought in. They were very desirous to please the merchant and did immediately whatever he required, saying only, *Si, padron*, or Yes, master. The diligent working of these fellows, as they did from morning to night, made the work be carried on at much less charge than usually buildings in that city required ; and in a reasonable time it was brought to perfection.

137. The Oggera was vaulted over thick and solid ; it had iron grates and shutter to the window and an iron door ; these, being earthed up, were a security to all that was laid in, from fire. Above was a large counting-house, in which the cash was kept and all the writing and dispatches performed. And the sofa-room was to the merchant's content ; and there was a singular use of it in giving content to great men that came there. In short, the merchants lived in this new establishment with entire satisfaction. But Mr. Dudley North was not without some qualms that came over his conscience, lest, by these works and this way of living, the Turks should scent out that he was the owner of a house ; and he did not know what quirks in the law might be thereupon found out to give him trouble,

or perhaps to stop his voyage when he was about to come for England ; and under these fears and jealousies he could not be at ease, and at length he resolved to sell it and live in it as a tenant, and pay a rent to his purchaser. He went to a rich Turk, whose person he knew well, and also that he was an honest man, and made his proposal to him : he immediately closed and, going into his closet, brought forth his price in Venetian chequeens, which the merchant carried home in his bosom without leaving scrip or scroll of acquittance or otherwise concerning it. Such trust may men gain in the world by a steady, honest behaviour. The transfer was made at leisure, and so that affair of the house was begun, carried on, and ended. If buying and selling estates in England were transacted as easily there would be more trading for land than we have been acquainted with. The merchants in this house of factorage, lived in good order and plenty ; and, having room enough, admitted persons to live and board with them ; especially the latter, because cooks' shops and ordinaries are not there as in London. And also they harboured for some time, persons recommended from England and other places of their cognizance, or transient travellers ; for there the gallant *huomo* is much professed : the person to whom the Italian letter is addressed being a most accomplished secretary and boon companion, was a boarder in the house. It was hard to keep a table, as they who were not masters of any time or hours did, tolerably in order ; for, as their business called they must go and lose no opportunities of profit or preventing loss, to which engagements, eating, and drinking, were always postponed ; and if they had ordered it so that the dinner must stay till all came together, no hour in the day would fit them and their dinners must be spoiled. Their order therefore was that, at an hour prefixed (suppose one), the meal was set upon the table, and if none were at home it stood till some came ; and often they dined one after another as they dropped in and nothing was taken away but as they ordered. But at night they were all together at home, or at their neighbour's, of course ; when the chief inconvenience was the bottle : else, a more pleasant course of life could not well be contrived, than to close a day of fatigue in business with a known ingenious set of

companions and the whole world for the subject of their conversation.

138. This merchant's chief friend and acquaintance at court was Usine Aga, or the chief customer. They used to eat and drink together at each other's houses ; and once the merchant dined with Usine Aga, and a holy dervise came in and sat him down by the Turk as if he had been his fellow. Such familiarities are commonly used by holy pretenders ; and, beyond that, they often reprove and sometimes revile great men : all which seems to resemble the saucy behaviour of the old Cynic philosophers whom neither the old Grecians them, nor the modern Turks these, dare to use as they deserve, because the common people have them in great veneration. The dervise was much disturbed that Usine Aga should suffer a Gower (or unbeliever) to sit and eat meat with him, and reproved him for it which he minded not ; at last the dervise turned him towards the merchant, and "Gower," said he, "are not you happy to sit here and eat so good meat the like of which you never tasted in your life before ?" (It is common for people of all nations to think no other people eat so well as themselves.) "Hold your tongue, Haggi," said Usine Aga, "I have ate and drunk a great deal better at his house ;" meaning good pork and wine, as those superior Turks will do in private and be as drunk as any Christian ; for of all professions there are enough and those sufficiently wicked in their several ways.

139. As to our merchant's extraordinary methods of trade by which he obtained superabundant profit, it is not my fortune to have gathered many particulars ; but a little I have for a taste ; and that consisted first in dealing with the court, and secondly with the Bashas and officers : the former for jewels, and the other in loans of money and excessive usury, ordinarily twenty or thirty per cent. Of each of these I can give one instance. And first for the method of selling jewels, which I have heard him say he hath done to the value of four or five thousand dollars in a parcel, and in the manner following. When at the seraglio jewels are wanted, as for presents, weddings, and the like, an officer is sent out among the known traders giving them to understand that such goods are wanted. He (as others

also on the like errand commonly do) carried the jewels to an officer that, like a botcher in a paltry hut, sat cross-legged with his boxes and utensils all in his reach. He received the jewels and, writing upon his hand, took a short account of them and of the merchant's name and residence, and then he laid all by together; the merchant went away without witness, scrip, or scroll for his goods. This done, he never failed to speak with all the chief jewellers in the city, letting them know the marks and price of his jewels, desiring them if inquired of not to prize them lower. After this, if the jewels were liked a messenger came to know the price; if not approved he had warning to come and take them away. After he named his price, they inquired of the jewellers and then commonly it was a bargain; and the next news was, to come and take his money. And that he did by porters, taking it up and all together running away with it as fast as they could; and in this great trust there was never known a fraud put upon any man; and the money (barring accidents in telling) never failed of being right. I wish I could say as much for all Christian courts, treasurers and exchequers.

140. All those who come into posts of authority and profit in Turkey are sure to pay for them; and on that account the seraglio is a sort of market. This makes the bashas who solicit for better preferment and all the pretenders to places, prodigiously greedy of money; which they cannot have without borrowing and, if they can but get the money, they care not upon what terms, for the place to be paid for will soon reimburse them. The lending these men money is a very easy trade as to the terms, but a very difficult trade as to the security. For, by the Turkish law, all interest for the forbearance of money is unlawful; and the debtor need not, whatever he agrees, pay a farthing on that account. Therefore they are forced to go to tricks and, like our gamesters, take the interest together with the principal, and, if it be questioned, call it *premio*. And the security is very frail for the personal is worse than nothing; for who would travel as far as Trebizond to sue a basha? But the work is done by pawns really, but in appearance bought right out for a price, which is made good perhaps with rascally goods sold; and

all this is authenticated by *odgett* from the judge who, knowing the mystery, yet partly by reason of the natural equity in taking interest and partly for favour to the Frank merchants, who are his best clients, readily lets such *odgetts* pass. But after all, there is a world of cunning and caution belongs to this kind of dealing and the wisest may suffer greatly by it; but our merchant had the good luck to come off scot-free and made his advantages accordingly.

141. I have mentioned one Bobahassan; he, being a bey of a galley, which requires a very great cash, and withal a luxurious fellow, was in perpetual want of money. And our merchant and he, valued each other for their several ends: the merchant for getting immense profit by dealing; and the other for a sure card to get money at a pinch, which otherwise he knew not how to compass. And out of these bizarre notions and ingredients, a wonderful familiarity and seeming friendship grew up and was conserved between these animals of a very different species. The bey was a merry fellow and, like other voluptuous Turks, had his buffoons to divert him, and he often played the buffoon himself: as for instance, talking with his merchant, he hath several times said, "You and I are very good friends but our purses quarrel; and then (acting with his hands) your purse gives my purse a job then my purse gives your purse a knock, and so they fight; but all the while we are very good friends." Once, when they were merry together in the galley, a man brought two slaves to sell; he agreed the price and, calling his steward, ordered him to take them into his yard and pay for them. The steward grumbled that they had too many and could scarce feed those they had, and what should they do with more since the oars did not want them? "*Cane senza fede*," that is, "You infidel dog," said the bey, "can we have too many? Must not there be some for me and some for the plague?" Then he turned, and "Merchant," said he, "when is the shepherd rich? Come answer me quick, when is the shepherd rich?" "I think," said the merchant, "when he hath most sheep." "See there," said he to his man, "*Cane senza fede*, what the merchant says, and about your business."

142. It will be readily believed that the merchant did

not endure the company of this fastidious monster for nothing ; he used him as well for getting off his rotten cloth and trumpery goods, which were not otherwise vendible, as for plain lending. For he could be demure and say he had no money ; the ships were gone off by which he had made his returns ; but he had some goods left, and if he would please to take them for part with some money he could raise, he might serve him with the sum he desired and so forth. Once he was walking in the street at Constantinople and saw a fellow bearing a piece of very rotten worthless cloth, that he had put off to the bey and knew it again ; and he could not hold, but asked the fellow where he had that cloth. With that the man throws down the cloth and, sitting down at a door, fell to swearing and cursing that dog Bobahassan that made him take it for a debt ; but he more furiously cursed that dog that sold it to him, wishing him, his father, mother, and all his kindred burned alive, and the like. The merchant thought it best to sneak away ; for if he had been found out to have been once the cloth's owner, he had certainly been beaten. So great men cheat one another, but it is the poor that bears all at the last.

143. Before I proceed to relate any other considerable actions and undertakings of our merchant, I shall take notice of some personal incidents and characters ; and then, as things proffer to my memory, step forwards. He made once a formal visit to a great man and was entertained upon the sofa. It is the mode there, that when the master is visited a number of slaves stand below the sofa at the end of the room, like so many images, as mute as fishes. The merchant, thinking to be complaisant and to conform with the mode of the Turks, sat upon his legs, as the Turk he visited did. It was uneasy, or rather very painful to him at first, but, after a while, he felt no uneasiness at all ; and no wonder, for the leg his weight lay upon was numbed so as to have no feeling at all. When he offered to rise and got up a little, he fell down, as if one of his legs had been cut off. The master made his sign and the attendants came all forward, and, laying him down upon the sofa, rubbed and chafed his leg for near an hour until he said he felt it pain him ; and then they conducted him to his way

homewards, which he did not attain but slowly and with great pain, and then he took his bed and lay for divers weeks before he was at any ease in stirring about. It seems the slaves were well instructed in this process; for the like occasion happens frequently in great men's houses, when men of other nations will be too forward with their complaisances.

144. The merchant had a very strange and dreadful infirmity growing fast upon him, which was a wen upon each knee. He never could know how these came at first; but the rising of them strangely surprised him and, after a little time, they were no less strangely, and not by skill or intention, but by mere accident, cured. They were twins, and grown so big that he could not walk with any strength, and least of all down hill or stairs. It was deliberated whether he should not submit to have them taken off; which if he had done he had probably lost his legs if not his life. He could not but anticipate in his mind the great mischief these excrescences might bring upon him; which was such a continual trouble to him, that he could scarce ever keep his hands from them. But once, while he was handling one of them, he observed a little matter issue at a point, somewhat like a curd, and, as he squeezed, still more came out, and, as he still urged, that also started. Upon examination and trial he found the same upon the other knee, and then he seldom forbore this squeezing as long as any curd would issue, and at length, by this and no other means, he reduced the wens to nothing; and so made an unexpected but perfect cure upon himself. This is matter of fact and well worthy to be known, for the sake of those unfortunate persons that may have such fungous excrescences rising up and growing under the skin. But our merchant, notwithstanding his cure, was never in all his life after strong in those joints.

145. Another infirmity fell upon him, as he accounted it to be, which he cured with no less resolution than the former; which was a too constant drinking the hot Greek wine in evenings. It is well known that the merchants abroad are too much given to the bottle; and many come home as very sots as if they had never gone abroad. In the mercantile society at Constantinople the jolly cup

commonly closed the evening ; and Mr. North being always *debonnaire* and complaisant, kept them company and did as they did ; until at length he found that, if he went to bed without a bottle or two in his belly, he could not sleep and that strong wine was his laudanum, as if he had been troubled with the hysterics. "Is it so ?" said he to himself : "that experiment shall be tried : must I be a sot because I do not sleep ?" And thereupon he resolved to drink no wine at night, and held it. At first he found, as before, that he could not sleep ; but, after a night or two, he fell to sleep just as he used to do when he drank wine. This was one of his short turns such as I have observed of him, and shall further observe him using when any thing troubled him which was not insuperable.

146. But this too sudden turn brought another inconvenience upon him ; for, not long after, he began to be almost continually indisposed ; and his nights were uneasy ; and, thinking it best, forbore suppers and was a little better upon it ; and then persevering he grew worse and worse in a manner as the doctors call a cachexy, or bad habit, which is ordinarily cured by diet and regimen. He once complained to one of their quacks, whom they called doctor ; and he told him that his regimen had been utterly wrong, and so long as he lived so abstemiously, he never would be at ease and well ; and therefore wished him to indulge at the common hours but without any excess, and at night always eat somewhat, and particularly what was savory, as caviare, or anchovies, sufficient to relish a glass of wine or two before he went to bed. He went into this course and, finding a manifest change for the better by it, he never left it off as long as he lived. It seems that, after he found his heart's ease at Constantinople, he began to grow fat which increased upon him till, being somewhat tall and well whiskered, he made a jolly appearance, such as the Turks approve most of all in a man.

147. This gives me a handle to relate a passage concerning himself which he told me in familiarity and confidence, saying he had let no mortal else (his best brother only excepted) have any knowledge of it, lest they should think he lied out of vanity. The great officers about the Grand Signor, with whom he had transacted and

(with such respects as became him) familiarly conversed, told his majesty that there was now in the city of Constantinople an extraordinary *gower*, as well for person as abilities, to transact the greatest affairs; and so, in the ordinary conversation with the Grand Signor, he was often named for somewhat considerable, besides his acting as *hasnadar* of the English nation under their ambassador. The Grand Signor declared he would see this extraordinary *gower*; and accordingly the merchant was told of it; and, at the time appointed, an officer conducted him into the seraglio and carried him about till he came to a little garden, and there two other men took him by the two arms and led him to a place where he saw the Grand Signor sitting against a large window open in a chamber not very high from the ground; the men that were his conductors, holding each an arm, put their hands upon his neck and bowed him down till his forehead touched the ground; and this was done more than once, and is the very same forced obeisance of ambassadors at their audiences. After this he stood bolt upright as long as the Grand Signor thought fit to look at him; and then, upon a sign given, he was taken away and set free again by himself to reflect on this his romantic audience.

148. As to his public capacities, the treasurership gave him opportunity to show his address and enlarge his acquaintance. He held a fair correspondence with the ambassadors of other nations and their dependents, and was well accepted by them. He was good company, facetious, fluent, and knew how to behave himself to all. He observed decorums, regarded his superiors, familiarized with his equals, and gave no offence to his inferiors. He had acquired an exquisite skill in human nature, and knew how to deal with all the various species of politicians and trickers, and was never in any considerable pass overreached by any of them. And if in a small matter at any time he found himself deluded, his cheater had better have been further off, for he made it known with a witness. Once a Jew had taken advantage of a little too much credulity and turned a trick upon him. When he found it he began to rage most desperately; and a brother Jew, to pacify him, came and told him that man was a

pitiful wretch ; and, if it should be known that so great a man was cheated by such a fellow, it would much concern his honour and reflect upon his wisdom. But this did not stop the fury of our merchant ; but he so much the louder cried out, " I was a fool and I was cheated ; and he is a villain and a dog ;" and the like. He was resolved the fellow's knavery should be known and that the flattering insinuation of his brother Jew should not cover him from open disgrace.

149. He had an uncommon disposition to truth, and could think nothing firm and to be relied on that was grounded on any falsity ; and in a sort of passion, when difficulties surrounded him, his way was to go to the truth of things and, fall back fall edge, there he stuck. His experience had instructed him that such a course, however seeming blunt and indiscreet, commonly succeeded more fortunately than the subtlest of lies. He was very seldom guilty of offence to any except in the way of tell-truth, which he could scarce ever forbear. Once one of their underlings had done a very foolish thing, not without suspicion of knavery ; and being found out, and laughed at by him, the man begged hard of him not to tell it in the factory, and he promised he would not if he could help it ; and then opened it at large to the first company he met, and then excused himself to his man that he could not help it. I do not know that his nature was so averse to any thing as to a false tricking knave, and such coming in his way provoked him almost to madness. But this aversion to falseness in others made a good return in security to himself ; for it kept him in a firm resolution, whatever became of him, to have truth and right on his own side ; for afterwards in England, when divers of an exasperated faction would have persecuted him to death, his good friends, Truth and Plain-dealing preserved him ; as I shall show, after I have him safe home.

150. During our merchant's residence at Constantinople and while Sir John Finch (and, as must be understood, Sir Thomas Bains) was ambassador, the grand vizier raised, or urged upon the nation, divers false and extortious demands, which they call *Avanias* ; which cost the nation very great sums of money ; and those often fell

hard upon him as treasurer to provide. In the company's affairs he always answered to the utmost penny of their effects in his hands, but he would not engulf his own particular estate in the public concern and then depend upon any one's good-nature to reimburse him ; of which evil he was in some danger as will appear afterwards. I shall say nothing of the particular avanias, because he hath penned an exact and judicious account of them ; and therein you will find him very modest in having related little or nothing in his own favour or to extol his own conduct, though much was performed by him ; nor hath he arrogated any happy events to himself though he was the chief means to procure them. But he doth not spare to censure things as he thought they deserved, whether any reflection may thereby fall either upon himself or his countrymen or not. When in affairs of the public men have once acted their parts, their concern therein is as it were at an end ; and what they have done is as it were divided from them, and from thenceforth belongs to the public and may be treated with absolute freedom and veracity. It is a great mistake for any man to expect that, in historical relations, he should be made a hero and like them in romances be always not only blameless, but sovereign. No man is without defects and failings and can claim perfection in nothing but a good will ; and any relation that represents persons otherwise is false. Therefore, being conscious of errors enough in our own selves and believing no less of our neighbours, why should any matters of fact be denied a place in public memorials for any partial respects contrary to the law of all good history ? This I say by way of apology for what may seem to reflect on the ambassador or any of the nation in the accounts our merchant hath penned and left behind him ; and there is observable in them a sort of modesty as well as respect showed to the concerned, which of itself would excuse the relations that, consistent with truth, would not have carried more.

151. But, as to the first matter of our merchant's modesty in not commanding himself in any thing or setting out matters that might seem so to do, I will subjoin a relation I had from himself. Upon the making up of

the great avania, I think it was that for recovery of the capitulations, a vast sum was to be raised as his relation shows ; and, if the treasury wants, and money cannot be borrowed and repaid as it comes in, the way of raising it is by taxing the nation, that is all the trade and goods of the English at Constantinople and the other factories in Turkey. And this is to be done by the ambassador who, with the merchants his counsel about him and none else, hath authority to order such things. Upon this occasion Sir John Finch and the chevalier, as they called Sir Thomas Bains, were loth to charge so great a tax as this must be by his own authority ; but, calling the treasurer forth, declared positively that he must take the whole upon him and do it as well as he could ; which he, having no money of the company's in his hands, as positively refused to do. At which the ambassador and his friend were in a furious emportment, and in language carried it very high against the treasurer ; but he stood to his point and was not moved one hair from his refusal. And, after the bluster was over, the ambassador to put his sentence in execution commanded his cancellier to take a place there, and then he and the knight fell to penning a protest against the treasurer, to be entered *in cancellaria*, of abundance of articles importing many thousands of pounds by way of damages to be made good by him to the nation, for his default. The treasurer in great admiration, all this while stood stock still, not interposing a word. At last, he was required to make his answer to this long protest. He desired a pen and ink and a piece of paper, and going aside, in a little time returned and gave it into the cancellier's hands as his answer to the protest, and desired it might be entered accordingly. It was very short and in effect but this, viz. "that he was treasurer to the Levant Company, and ready with his person to receive and issue such monies as his lordship the ambassador should order to be raised and paid for the service of the nation ;" and underwrote his name. When the ambassador and his friend had perused and considered this answer, they cooled ; and Sir Thomas said it was best to lay both aside : and thereupon they proceeded in form to the making an

act for raising the money; and so the business was done.¹

152. The tracts penned by our merchant at Constantinople, which concern the time before he left the place, are these: I. The History of Avanias; to which I have added some accounts of the time since he left the place, and those I took from some memorandums of his brother whom he left behind him. II. The Account of the audience at Adrianople, when Sir John Finch renewed the capitulations with the government there, which was a matter of great consequence to the merchant's trade there. III. A Letter to one — — an Italian virtuoso, who lived with him in his house, and was a minister of the Duke of Florence in that city, to spy and advise all occurrences. He was a very good companion and a dexterous secretary. He had made himself master of all the Turkish forms and could write to them in their own phrase and style; and by the character of the man and his employ, I verily believe he was the very person that wrote the genuine Letters of the Turkish Spy, translated into English. The merchant had contracted an intimacy and friendship with him, and knew divers of his methods of corresponding, such as he used to his master and other courts in Europe, giving an account of incidents concerning Turkey and what might affect the Christian states. He conversed with all sorts of men, escrivains, dragomen, &c., was debonair and free in company whereby to make others so with him. He was literally all things to all men and never dissented in any way of passing time; walking, riding, eating, drinking, or any thing the company liked, seemed agreeable to him. In making his dispatches, which were by every conveyance, he used first to write to his master the Great Duke; and in that letter he charged all that he could collect to write by that conveyance: and, that done, he had his materials for all his other letters; for what he wrote to every one was here and there culled out of that, according as their characters required.

153. This letter to him is wrote in Italian in the style

¹ On this subject compare the *Examen*, chap. vi. § liv. p. 462, *et seq.*

of vulgar speaking at that time, which the merchant had acquired to a perfection and expressed himself as naturally and fluently in it, as if it had been his mother tongue; and it hath been observed that no Frank ever spoke the vulgar Italian idiom so correct and perfect as he did. I observed a sort of quaintness or spirit in the penning, which made me give it in its own dress: but, for the convenience of such as perhaps may be less acquainted with Italian than I am, I have con-columned a translation of it into English, which if not so well done as the letter deserves I hope will appear yet just and true.

154. It was our merchant's fortune to be treasurer when the grand equipment for the audience of Sir John Finch at Adrianople was made; and to be charged with the providing all things necessary for the journey and, to his great fatigue, to attend it in person. And now, leaving all the particulars of those affairs to be found in the merchant's own relation which show what a work the whole must be (for the ambassador took no trouble of any thing at all to himself), I will proceed, and relate one passage the merchant told us happened to him about buying a horse for the ambassador to ride on. Upon the death of a basha, or some great man, his goods were sold by outcry; and, among other things a famous horse was to be sold. The merchant went in order to buy it if he might do so. When he appeared and asked the price, the manager of the sale, who was a man of considerable authority, raised himself up and, “Is there,” said he, “never a mussulman (or true believer) left in the world to come and buy this fine horse; but he must fall into the hands of a nasty *gower*, to set his — — upon? ¹ chick.” The merchant needed not to hear the word twice but gat him gone: for if he had persisted, the Turks probably, who think a horse too noble a creature for an infidel to ride upon, at the instigation of that fellow might have fallen upon and beat him.

155. The merchant understood the genius of the Turks and knew how to make his court as well as any man living:

¹ [The Turks are in nothing more superstitious than in cleansing their posteriors, which they think the Franks never do, or not enough at least.]—Note by the Author.

I will instance but in one passage I find in Dr. Covel's "Account of the Greek Church," fol. 317. Mr. Dudley North once told Cara Mahmet, that our divines compared such an ungrateful vile man (not owning God's gifts) to a swine that grows fat with acorns, and wallows in them never minding or looking up to the tree from whence they fell. The Turk fell into a great rapture in their praise and commendation. Above all creatures, the Turks abominate a swine.

156. A RELATION OF DIVERS TURKISH AVANIAS,¹ SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF CARA MUSTAPHA BASHA, VIZIER AZEM.

"FOR the better understanding of these affairs, it is absolutely necessary first to say somewhat concerning the nature of the government of the office of Vizier Azem, or chief vizier, and of the several Kaimachams which are his substitutes and act only in his absence.

157. "The Turkish government is directly that of an army, being under the same methods in the city in time of peace as in the field during the war. The Grand Signor is the general; he hath indeed a double capacity, the one as head of the empire the other as a private person. As head of the empire, he hath a daily pay out of their public treasury; and his common and ordinary charges, both at home and abroad, are borne by the Teftardar, or treasurer for the empire. As he is a private person, he receives presents, fines, and confiscations; and defrays many extraordinary expenses, as buildings for charitable uses, jewels for himself and his women, &c. which treasury is under the care of the Hasna Kiiasi, or treasurer of the Grand Signor.

158. "Here is to be noted that, in his private capacity, he is always vastly rich, and heaps up very great treasures; when, many times, the public treasury is exhausted; so that, in wars he is often fain to lend great sums of money to the public, which they are sure punctually to pay again.

159. "The next in office under the Grand Signor in the government, is the Vizier Azem, or chief minister, who is of that credit in the empire that the Grand Signor calls

¹ Unjust demands against the merchants.

him tutor ; and indeed he acts all both in peace and war. The Grand Signor, minding his pleasures leaves all to him : and this happens, not more out of luxury than from the maxims of their policy. But, when the Grand Signor is an active prince and will look into business himself, or when he is jealous and his nature fickle, apt to hear and believe complaints against his great minister, the vizier signifies much less.

160. "When the Grand Signor goes to the war, he carries with him all the officers of the court, even the mufti, judges, and all. The like doth the grand vizier when the Grand Signor stays behind. But then he leaves a substitute, which they call kaimacham, to act like him in his absence. And all the other great officers of the state make their substitutes in like manner ; so that the Grand Signor hath as formal a court as he had before. So also, in case he doth not stay in the imperial city of Constantinople but removes to any other part of the empire ; wherever he goes, he carries with him his whole court ; but then, not to leave the great city destitute, a new kaimacham and other substitutes are appointed ; whereby, notwithstanding the absence both of the Grand Signor and vizier, the city hath the same formal government as if they were all there ; with this difference, that these are underlings and dare not meddle in great matters : but, in all business of concern, they receive orders from their principals abroad and act accordingly.

161. "The government being thus supplied, there is no need (unless upon extraordinary occasion) for the leiger ambassador of any nation to attend the person of the vizier, but they may dispatch their business in Constantinople, the resident of Germany only excepted, who continually attends the vizier's camp at some reasonable distance.

162. "In the minority of this Grand Signor, the government was so broken and things so unsettled that a vizier could scarcely hold his place to the end of a year ; whereby things came to a very bad pass, soldiers not to be governed and the revenue anticipated above five years beforehand ; and then, as the properest remedy for these evils, a rigid, cruel-natured fellow was found out and made vizier, who was the famous old Cuperli ; a man so obscure that he was

even known but to few, and had been employed only in some petty bashalic and, at that time, was poor and in debt. This man was no sooner in his seat, but he was marked out for sudden ruin by those who had been acquainted with supplanting one the other. But he took a course different from what they expected, and were acquainted with ; for he presently cut off the heads of the factious party, and in so little time reduced the state to peace and quiet and freed the revenue, settling himself so secure, that the Grand Signor continued him about seven years, till his death, and then by recommendation appointed his son to succeed in his stead ; who came to the place with great advantage, succeeding his father, that, in his time, had reduced the people, so that none durst appear to move factiously.

163. "This man, Achmet Basha, was bred up to learning, many years making profession of the law, and had been actually a judge in civil causes, a quality scarce ever known in a vizier before ; to which being added a natural justice and good disposition, he was one of the best ministers that people ever knew. In this manner he ruled the empire for about fourteen years, till his death ; the Grand Signor all the while pursuing his pleasures, hunting on the mountains, to which he was much addicted ; and so lived free from the terrors and frights he had formerly endured from the factious, upon every change of a vizier. Immediately upon this vizier's death, Cara Mustapha Basha succeeded, who had been for many years the next person to the vizier, and his kaimacham when he went out to the wars. He was brought up a menial servant under old Cuperli ; and, having gradually passed all the offices of the court, is now the present vizier, having reigned in that place about four years. He hath behaved himself with great rigour and severity, but without blood, contenting himself with money which, with strange rapacity, he hath raked from all sorts and conditions of people ; and he hath found this not only a sufficient expedient of humbling his enemies but a great means of protection, which the Grand Signor, of late years grown very covetous, hath daily exacted in great sums from him.

164. "Thus much I thought fit to say by way of intro-

duction, before I entered upon the avanias that happened in his time ; and that for two reasons ; first, that it might appear how long the Franks (as all European nations that have articles of peace are called) had lived under the good government of Achmet Basha, viz. fourteen years, and seven years before that under his father old Cuperli, who, though of a bad disposition, yet, being wholly taken up to redress the wrongs of the depraved government, had not time to mind them ; in which twenty-one years it is likely they had a little forgot the former rigour of the Turks and, doubtless acted many things with a great deal less of circumspection, than is absolutely necessary to them that live under that government. And in the second place, that it may appear, viziers are now more firm in their seats, than they have been in former times ; the Grand Signor not having made any change these twenty-five years ; so that they who think complaints to the Grand Signor might be heard against them may, upon trial, find themselves much deceived. The Raguseans were thrice repulsed by the Grand Signor, on complaints made against the present viziers, without the least redress ; and many others have had the like success."

*The First Avania made on our English Nation, concerning
the Audience of the Ambassador.*

165. "WHEN the vizier came first to the city of Constantinople, which was not long after he was made vizier, all the ambassadors made their addresses to receive the first audience of compliment usual to a new vizier ; and not long after, a day was appointed to the French ambassador. Here it is to be noted, that the Turks are a people who abound in ceremonies as much as any whatever, though not always nor at all times alike. Sometimes an ambassador shall be received by the vizier with a great deal of formality and ceremony, and at other times without any at all. The formalities consist in putting on the divan habit, and by causing two chairs to be brought into the room, one for the vizier and the other for the ambassador. When it is without any formality, then the vizier appears only in his ordinary habit and sits on his cushions in his

corner, and the ambassador not being able to sit by him in the manner the vizier sits (which no man, not bred to it from a child, is able to do) and for the honour to keep up the custom of their countries, hath a stool set for him just before the vizier at some small distance.

166. "Now, in all rooms of state in Turkey, the upper part is raised with a half-pace, about a foot higher than the rest of the room. But all the room, both upper and lower floor, is covered with rich carpets, beds, and cushions round the walls, to lean against and sit on. The French ambassador, coming into the room appointed for his audience, found the chair set for him below the half-pace and the vizier's above ; whereupon he spoke to one of his servants, to set his chair likewise upon the half-pace ; but before he could set himself therein, it was taken away by a Turk, and set where it was before. Then the ambassador takes it himself, and sets it upon the half-pace, and, being about to sit down, a Turk snatched it away, and had like to have given him a fall. News of this was carried to the vizier, who called for the dragoman, and asked what the ambassador meant ; and sent him word that, if he would not set his chair below the half-pace as it stood at first, he would not come out to him ; whereupon, after some messages backwards and forwards to the same effect without any condescension on either side, the ambassador rose up and went away, without any audience at all.

167. "This was no sooner done but we had notice of it, and not long after, came a messenger from the vizier to our ambassador, to appoint his audience ; but his lordship, to gain time, thought fit to receive the messenger on his bed and excused himself upon indisposition. The same messenger was afterwards sent to the Venetian ambassador, and Dutch resident, to appoint their audiences, who received them in manner as the vizier ordered. Not many days after, the vizier threatened the French ambassador for the affront, and confined him to his house and ordered him not to stir without leave ; in which they were so strict as to deny leave, when asked, to visit an ambassador from Poland. His lordship thereupon drew up a memorial, insisting therein, that former viziers had received ambassadors with their chairs on the same place

and that he durst not receive it on other terms. This memorial was given in but had no answer; and the dragoman who carried it was rated and threatened.

168. "Things continued in this state some time; when arguments on all sides were thought on, and though former viziers had admitted the chair to stand on the same half-pace with theirs, yet it was found, that this vizier, when he was but kaimacham or deputy, had received this very French ambassador in the same way he now required; and had practised the same with several others. After some months, the French ambassador finding the vizier's displeasure and fearing worse consequences, seeks peace on the vizier's terms and, with great difficulty, procures it, being forced to give an extraordinary present to the value of three thousand dollars; which sum was hardly made up with selling his house, plate, and rich furniture; and he, being much in debt, was reduced to that extremity, that he had scarce credit to buy victuals into his house, as was generally believed.

169. "Our ambassador in the mean time stands his ground, and takes no notice at all of any thing till he was forced to it on this occasion. The great feast, or Bairam, of the Turks approaching, at which it is customary for all ambassadors to send presents to the vizier, our dragoman went to the vizier's chief officer to know when they should bring the presents. In answer to which he received ill words and threats: whereat his excellency, being sensible of the danger the whole nation was in (one of the Smyrna merchants being already brought up by a *chiaus* on a law-suit without any notice to the ambassador) and not knowing what violence the vizier might come to; and also having now the example of the French ambassador's compliance, means were made to desire the audience on the vizier's own terms. For obtaining which, after much time spent and all endeavours used, it was at last concluded to pay six thousand dollars ready money; and not long after, the ambassador had his audience accordingly, the vizier behaving himself very insolently all the while. The French ambassador hath been since recalled and another sent, who, to the last advices, had not received a public audience on the score of placing the chair, though he had been in Con-

stantinople above a year. But at his first coming he had a familiar audience, as I have described, he pretending orders from the French king not to condescend in this point.

Reflections.

170. "The vizier being a haughty rigid man, there was little reason to expect he should part with a ceremony upon dispute, while vizier, which he had enjoyed in a lower sphere, being but kaimacham. And though the English ambassador had reason to stand as high upon his honour as the ambassador of the French; yet it might have been foreseen, that, where an ambassador resides on the score of trade only, it would not be thought fit to break upon punctilios; and yielding, on the vizier's part, was not to be expected; therefore it must come to a redemption. Between nations, where there are mutual ambassadors, ceremonies and respects are retaliated and affronts are paid in the same kind; but the Turks, having no ambassadors, expect no payment but ready money. They will not acknowledge they receive any benefit by our trading with them; and therefore have no manner of regard to a good correspondence with us; as appears by their refusing our presents and slighting our complaints on all occasions. Our policy therefore is, to trade as quietly as we can and intermeddle with them as little as is possible, to the end they may take no occasion to prey upon us; as for certain, they will do upon any pretence whatsoever."

*The Second Avania, being made upon Mr. John Ashby,
Merchant in Smyrna.*

171. "A CERTAIN Venetian, or rather Candioite, called Pizzimani, a person of no reputation or wealth, having bought a considerable quantity of glass-beads and other Venetian wares, trading from Venice to Smyrna, on which he owed money, pawned the goods to an English merchant there and took up, at interest on them, three thousand dollars. Not long after, the merchant dies, and his partner, Mr. John Ashby (who was absent at Adrianople, when the pawn was taken) taking the account of his partner's business and estate, found this pawn, whereupon, time for payment being past, he demands the money

of Pizzimani who, from time to time, baffled him. At length, finding no probability of his compliance, Mr. Ashby (the partner) cites him before the English consul in Smyrna, before whom he gave no satisfaction of performance according to his obligation. Therefore the consul condemns the goods to be sold by inch of candle, which was done accordingly: Pizzimani all the while behaving himself so, as it could not be proved he either consented to or opposed the proceeding. But after all was over and the goods produced short of his obligation, he takes a copy of the sale out of the English *cancellaria* and, with them, goes up to Constantinople; where, coming before the vizier, he declares himself a subject of the Grand Signor, as born in his kingdom of Candia, and complained of a wrong done him by a merchant, Mr. Ashby, in Smyrna, and obtains an officer and command to bring him up to answer his suit at the grand signor's divan.

172. "Mr. Ashby, being come to Constantinople, soon saw that the sale of goods by the candle, to which the owner's consent could not be proved, would not stand in the Turkish law; but the goods remaining entire and being easily procured from them that had bought them, it was thought best to deny the sale wholly as if no such thing had been; and to take off the vizier and get a reference to the law, five hundred dollars were given to the Grand Signor's chief page; whereupon the business was heard twice by the chief judge of Constantinople; first in the presence of the vizier and, after, at the judge's house. At both which trials Pizzimani produced the copy of the sale, out of the English *cancellaria*, under the consul's hand and seal of the office, the which were positively denied and it was pretended to know nothing of it. Then he brought two Turks, that were present at the sale at Smyrna, to witness the same, which they did; but not being able to answer particularly some questions which the judge asked them, and we all the while stoutly denying the same and affirming that the goods remained, and should be restored upon payment, the judge believed us before them and gave his sentence, that they should both return to Smyrna, the one to receive the money and the other his goods. Soon after this it happened, that the servant of him who

had taken the bribe of five hundred dollars, his master not having called for it and he not knowing what it was for, met the merchant that had given it him and asked him what he must do with the money ; he answered, ‘ Give it me again,’ which he did. A day or two passed, when the vizier’s chief page called for the money and, finding it gone, sent to the merchant for it, who now, thinking all safe, refused to give it again. Whereupon the Turk grew enraged and threatened him severely, what he afterwards performed to the full ; for, in a little time, he so informed his master, the vizier, that all parties were summoned to the Grand Signor’s public divan, and there, without calling any judge to his assistance, after little or no hearing, he condemns Mr. Ashby to pay Pizzimani four thousand dollars, for which he was clapped up in chains for about twenty days, till he paid the money, and he was made to pay the five hundred dollars taken from the servant, for fear of farther severity.

Reflections.

173. “ The evil that happened to Mr. Ashby is not to be wondered at, considering the errors of the proceeding. First, that the English consul, who hath jurisdiction only among persons of his own nation, should do justice for an Englishman against a stranger. Secondly, such justice as the Turks do not allow their own subjects, for they do not condemn pawns after that manner. Thirdly, against such a stranger as might entitle himself to be a subject of the Grand Signor ; and this without plain proof of such a consent as had stood in their law, which, if such consent was, might be had in writing. Fourthly, to subtract the present after they had obtained sentence and thought themselves past danger. And fifthly, when the proceeding was questioned, to attempt the evading justice by such impudent and false assertions. No jesuitical distinctions can justify such a base defence, which must needs make an ill impression on the vizier against our nation not easily to be removed. It is not to be wondered that the vizier should make such quick work after he understood the truth. Certainly we have no cause to complain of this avania, but to stifle what we can the very memory of it.”

The Third Avania, made on the English Nation, on account of the New Lion Dollars brought to Aleppo.

174. "As introduction to an account of this, it is necessary to take notice of the several monies that are most frequent in Turkey.

175. "The proper money of Turkey, coined by the Grand Signor, is in silver only, a very small piece called an asper, in value less than a penny; the which, being made with an imperfect ugly stamp, is very much clipped and counterfeited, and for that reason in little esteem. But generally the monies of Christian countries are current here, and so throughout the empire. At first Spanish pieces of eight were most in use. But they, being liable to be clipped, and no way certainly to detect it but weighing them piece by piece, have been many years since disused and now are looked on rather as merchandize than money. The most esteemed money at present are the lion dollars, and florins of Holland, &c. Though many other coins also pass, as rix dollars of Germany, quarts of Poland, Hungarian and Venetian chequeens, the scude of France, and five sous pieces. Generally the Turks desire old money; when new comes they look upon it as counterfeit and made on purpose to deceive them. They having been so served lately by the French and others, by five sous pieces, on which all that I have to say of money depends: therefore I add an account of the five sous pieces, called temeens, their rise and fall in Turkey.

176. "At first, a French mariner brought some few of the five sous pieces for an adventure to Smyrna, and finding them to pass among the shopkeepers (who were pleased with the prettiness of the stamp) at eight to the weighty piece of eight, which made a great advantage, he and his companions next voyage brought more, which, going also at the same rate, encouraged others; and so, from a mariner's commodity it came to be taken up by the merchants who brought in large quantities. And, finding that France afforded not a sufficient supply of that coin to answer the occasion, they set the mint on work on purpose for them. The great gains made by these monies permitted them to raise the price of goods in Turkey to the

ruin of other nations, whereupon, all people exclaiming against these new monies, they fell in some disrepute; so that they were forced to pass them at ten to the dollar to get them off. And to make up that loss they put to them more of alloy; but not being able to effect that in the royal mint of France, they found out a lady in France, Madame D——, who had a right of coining, and gave in her arms three flowers de luce. And she supplied them with large quantities. And the cheat was not found out by the Turks; for the arms were the same and the face not much different and they could not read the inscription. After this example, others soon went to work; the Duke of Florence, State of Genoa, and almost all the petty states in Italy; such as by any means could hook in flowers de luce, were sure to make this use of them. They that had no direct title made somewhat else to be like them: some made spread eagles so like flowers de luce that it must be a cunning man that could distinguish them. Quantities, thus flowing in, made the money fall still lower even to pass at eleven and twelve to the dollar, which they got up again by the baseness of the metal, which was reduced to be almost copper, some not to have three in twelve ounces fine silver.

177. "All the while this money passed, our nation, who were most aggrieved by it, laboured against it all that they possibly could and spent money many times and had them cried down; but all signified little. It was a fine money and pleased the common people who would not be beat off it; but at length the humour spent itself, and the brass in all the worn monies appearing plainly it fell quite out of credit and use. It was generally thought that, whenever this money should fall, it would be the ruin of the French and all the known importers of it, as to be forced to change great quantities of it. But it proved otherwise; for, happening in the latter end of the good Vizier Achmet Basha, every man was fain to sit down by his own loss, and they that had any of this money upon their hands generally carried it to the mint, had it refined, and sold the silver. Then followed the introduction of new lion dollars; an account of which, and the reason, follows.

178. "The melting down and refining such vast quan-

ties of five sous pieces, produced such a flood of silver in all parts of Turkey, that the King of Spain's money, good pieces of eight, were worth very little more than the lion dollar of Holland, though the intrinsic difference be about eighteen per cent. Whereupon the merchants cared not to carry Spanish money any longer, but looked out for lion dollars and florins, which turned much better to account, and this trade lying conveniently for our merchants, they were as deeply concerned in it as any else. So that all the old money was soon drained out of those countries, and they were forced to go to minting for making new; which they coined at all the several mints in Holland and other provinces, in what quantities they pleased. But new monies being now looked upon in Turkey with great jealousy, on account of the temeens, or five sous pieces, by which they had been so lately and so considerably sufferers; and the Levant Company at home fearing that some of the merchants might, together with new money, import some of inferior alloy which might cause great scandal to the whole nation in Turkey and possibly a great avania; thought fit to make an order, that all monies arriving in Turkey should be searched by the ambassador and consuls, assisted by the company's treasurer; and that, if any were found not of perfect alloy, it should not be permitted to land. And this was recommended to be done in the presence of the customers and Turkish officers, that their sincerity might be made apparent. The former part of this order was good and of excellent use, but the latter, of interesting the Turks therein, ruined all; as will appear in the sequel, wherein I shall set out the manner or occasion that gave the first ground for the avania on new monies.

179. "Soon after the receipt of the foregoing order of the Levant Company in Turkey, about examining of money; there arrived some thousands of new dollars at Constantinople; the which, being in the time of a very jealous and fearful customer, we no sooner spoke to him of examining the money, but, knowing it to be no part of his place or business, he wholly declined venturing upon it; justly fearing, that, false monies after appearing, it might be charged on his connivance at the importation;

whereupon he declared he would not be concerned therein. The ambassador finding this, to the end that the company's order might not be wholly frustrate, sent to the kaimacham, the vizier's representative, and tells him a plausible story of our honesty and that we would not import any money without his examination of it; and so desired him to appoint some of his mint officers to inspect a parcel lately arrived. He, being a downright plain man and of good meaning, commended our proceedings and ordered some officers of the mint to go along with us, which, for a small matter, they did, and the money proving very good, all was as well as could be wished.

180. "Not long after, this kaimacham was changed, and another touchy jealous old fellow succeeded him; unto whom coming on the same score, upon the arrival of more money, notwithstanding all the fair stories we could make and the precedent we had of his predecessor, yet he snapped us up, 'What? you would have me see the good money? You would never call me if it were bad. You have taken all that ashore already and now you would have me see the good.' Nor could we induce him to concern himself at all in the matter, until the ambassador went in person to him; when purely out of compliment he suffered it to be brought into his presence. This might have been a demonstration of the great inconveniences to follow upon these proceedings; yet nothing would make us change them. It was the company's order, and the first kaimacham taking it well (though he had not been concerned, had not the customer refused it) the ambassador magnified it as an improvement of the company's order, and so could not lay it down with honour.

181. "But soon after, the vizier himself coming to Constantinople, a little ship brought up one thousand five hundred weighty dollars, which we dare not touch for fear of breaking the company's orders without first acquainting the vizier, which was done by his kaia. We heard from him in the very same strain with the old touchy kaimacham; and the more we insisted to have the money inspected, the more they conceived a bad opinion of us, and that it was a design to cover the importation of bad money. So that at last we were fain to take it out of the

ship and examine it by ourselves. Nor did the same order fare better at Smyrna or Aleppo; where, though the customers were induced to inspect our monies, yet they always came to it unwillingly and with fears, and made a money-business of it, that is, they would be paid for venturing to do what they did.

182. "To come now to the avania, which began at Aleppo. It is to be premised, that Aleppo is a very great bashalic; the basha of it, in the wars, commonly commanding the front of the army; therefore he seldom resides at Aleppo, but farms out the profits to some pitiful fellow or other who signifies little more than a rent-gatherer. And thus it had been for some time past; but the basha being now at Aleppo in person, very hungry and poor, our general ships arrived with two hundred thousand dollars, mostly new lions. Coming to the inspection, the basha would concern himself, and would have a good sum for his share. But the consul there not daring to yield to him, having been blamed for some such allowances, the basha, who perceived he was likely to get nothing, in revenge sends a dispatch to the vizier at Constantinople, informing him that the English had imported four hundred purses of false money; whereat the vizier took fire and sent to have all the money seized and secured, and two dollars taken out of every bag and sent to him. We heard of this by accident, just before his lordship had his audience of reconciliation with the vizier. His excellency spoke with the vizier about it, who told him plainly what he had done, and that if the money proved bad, he would confiscate it all to the Grand Signor's use; but promised we should have a fair trial.

183. "Not many days after, the messengers arrived from Aleppo, and brought under the seal of the basha and consul, one thousand dollars, part of the money imported, whereupon the vizier called the ambassador to see the trial of it; for which all things were prepared in the vizier's yard, and the chief officers of the empire attended as witnesses how it should prove; the vizier also peeping out at a window. As soon as the ambassador came, they began the trial, and first melted down one hundred and fifty dollars at once and, after, one hundred for a second

trial; both which proved good according to the known alloy of lion dollars. We were then dismissed, and the dragoman ordered to attend the vizier's kaia next day, where he was told, that this was a great sum of money; and somewhat the vizier would have; otherwise we were threatened that he would send for it all to Constantinople and melt it down and cry down all new money from passing any more. The money demanded was twelve thousand five hundred dollars, that is, twenty-five purses for the vizier and five for the kaia and officers; in all fifteen thousand dollars which, after some consultations, not being able to get any abatement, was agreed to be paid and thereon commands sent to Aleppo for freeing the money. Notwithstanding all this, the basha made such scruples that he got near two thousand dollars before the money could be cleared; which was more than at first would have done the business with him.

184. "In this matter the vizier without doubt was much disappointed; he thinking no other but the money was false, as he had reason being wrote so from the Basha of Aleppo. And our good friends the Dutch in Constantinople, all saying the same thing and most impudently and falsely denying that it had been coined in their country. So that the vizier, falling from so great an expectation as confiscating the whole was, it could not be expected he would be quite slurred, and make no advantage by it.

Reflections.

185. "The merchants here thought it a sure prevention of all avanias, upon the score of bad money, to have their own pass the test before it was imported; and it had been well if the trial had been confined to their own officers. But to interest the Turks and make them present, was very improvident; for it could not be imagined, so much could pass the view of a rapacious officer without his contriving to fasten upon some of it; especially when they were entitled to demand some recompense for their pains, undergoing a trouble not incident to their offices. And the Turks had great reason on this occasion to be jealous;

for why all this care but to excuse bad money, when it should afterwards appear; and to lay blame at their own doors; which made the inferior officers refuse to take upon them?"

The Fourth Avania, being a Seizure of the Estate of Mr. Pentloe after his Decease.

186. "FOR the better understanding of this, it is first necessary to declare that the law of Turkey allows not the making any will to dispose either land or goods. But according to rules they have, when any man dies, they dispose his goods to his heirs. And they will not take any evidence but *viva voce*. So that, with them, books and papers signify nothing; whereby it many times happens that the wife and children seize upon all and defraud many of their rights. Upon this ground it hath been always esteemed unsafe to employ married men as factors and hath ever been avoided by all persons; their estates being purely at the discretion of their heirs. Farther it is to be considered, that the Turks account all such as have married their subjects, no longer as Franks but equal with the Greeks and other Christian subjects, and no better; as appears by what they did in Galata to several French and Dutchmen married there, which happened about two years before the death of Mr. Pentloe, in the manner following.

187. "Galata, over against Constantinople, where all the Franks and a great many other Christians live, is a town that belongs to the queen-mother, the revenue of it going to her maintenance. The farmers of the rents for some years past, to beat down the farm, for argument's sake used to allege that the place was in a manner wholly peopled with privileged persons, as dragomen, who are interpreters (and notwithstanding that both they and their wives are the Grand Signor's subjects, yet are exempted and made free by the capitulations of the nations they served, as also by especial grants to themselves obtained at the desire of their respective ambassadors) and married Franks. Complaint of this being made to the vizier, he appointed an inquisitor with an extraordinary

power to take cognizance of the matter of fact. He coming upon the place and not receiving a bribe, as he expected, and as one did who came there on the same errand some years before, made strict inquiry and gave particular account of all he found married to the Grand Signor's subjects, about forty families of French watch-makers, and the chief of the French merchants, three of the best of the Dutch merchants, of our nation only one surgeon, but store of dragomen of all nations. On return of which inquiry, the vizier immediately and severely commands all former privileges to dragomen void; and that from hence forward no nation be allowed more than three; and that for them new privileges should be taken out. But that all married Franks should be looked on as subjects; and, as such, the collectors should gather all duties from them. This to the French and Dutch was very important, their chief merchants being comprehended. And notwithstanding all that the French ambassador or Dutch resident could say or do, and all the endeavours of private merchants, and money ready to be given ten times more than the duties ever would have come to, not the least favour for them could be obtained; so that the only expedient they could find was to procure several titular consulships, one of Gallipoli in the Hellespont, another of Athens, and so of other places; the procuring of which cost them dear also. But the poor watch-makers, who could not go to that expense and for all whom there was not enough to pay the charge, were fain to submit and pay their head-money. This all nations cried out against as a great tyranny, in causing them that are strangers to come and live in a country under capitulations, and then forcing them to become like the rest of the born slaves. But the case, fairly and truly considered, will not appear so; for the understanding which, it is necessary to declare the Turk's laws in this point; and what opinion they have of strangers and the ready admission they have at all times.

188. "The Turks have a general maxim, that their countries are the refuge of the whole world, so as they admit all strangers to come to them who will; and, if they like, may settle with them and immediately enjoy

the same privileges that their native subjects do. But they esteem all subjects as slaves; so that it is not lawful for any of them to desert their prince and go to other countries. Yet, by this law, they do not seize upon all strangers that come among them and keep them there. But it hath in many cases been determined by their lawyers, that he who comes and resides a year there becomes a subject; but before the year is expired he may depart. I take the reason of this to arise thus: once a year the Turks collect a tribute of all their subjects that are not Mahometans. It is not reasonable that they should take this of a stranger so soon as he arrives; but when the year hath gone about, he hath as much reason to pay as the rest. And it is not likely that, having once received, they will forego it; for that would permit a great diminution of their revenue, which they endeavour to enhance by all the ways they can. The reason why all, that are not Turks, pay this tribute, is, as they allege it, because they enjoy the benefit of the wars and peace thereupon without serving in them. Else they would enjoy the labours of the Turks, who are their masters, and pay nothing for it; in compensation of which benefit this tribute is imposed.

189. "All European nations, that live among them and have articles for intercourse of trade, are called Franks; not from a corruption of the French word (as some think), but from the Italian translation of the word they call us by in their own language, which, signifying free or exempt, is in Italian *Franco* and is so meant. For, by the capitulations, we are freed from the aforesaid duty of head-money and some other duties their own subjects are liable to; and by them we have free liberty to come and to go out at our pleasure, which else we could not do. But it is controverted whether a Frank, after he shall marry a subject of the Grand Signor, can any longer retain this freedom, upon pretence there is an article in the capitulations that says, 'An Englishman, whether he be married or single, shall be free,' &c. And this we would construe to comprehend such as married the Grand Signor's subjects; but the Turks say it intends only such as come over with their wives, and no other. And in a case any thing dubious, it is shrewdly to be feared that their inter-

pretation will stand before ours; as I have shown it did in the case of the French and Dutch that lived in the town of Galata.

190. "The nature of Mr. Pentloe's case was this. He lived in Smyrna in all about thirty years; and about six or seven before his death, he married a Greek woman with whom he lived, having bought a house and gardens a little farther into the town. At his death he appointed two English merchants, Mr. Gabriel Smith and Mr. John Ashby, his assigns to look after his estate, recommending to them the sending home his wife and children, which they were about to perform having taken passage for all of them in a ship on departure. This was about five months after his decease; but it being by all people feared that the sending away the woman and her children might cause some future avania, it was thought by the ambassador and consul that this business could not be done privately; wherefore it was ordered, that the assigns should procure the licence of the judge and customer of Smyrna, with whom several treaties were had and monies promised to be given. But they demanded it beforehand, and ours would part with nothing till it was done; so, coming to differ, the judge, to do as much mischief as he could, sends an account to the vizier, then newly arrived at Adrianople from the wars of Muscovy. The vizier acquaints the Grand Signor with the business, who consults the mufti, to know what they deserved who being subjects were flying out of his country. The mufti answered, that their estates were confiscated. Whereupon commands issued for the confiscation, and an officer dispatched to Smyrna with the same; as also to bring up Smith and Ashby, the assigns, to give in their account of the estate.

191. "When this was done, another messenger was sent to Constantinople with a letter from the vizier to the ambassador, to acquaint him with what was done and ordering him to send to Smyrna, to see that nothing be acted contrary to the Grand Signor's pleasure, as also to send a dragoman to be present at the arrival of the merchants. When the merchants arrived at Adrianople, the Turks finding the estate secured at Smyrna not to import above

fifty thousand dollars, which was infinitely short of their expectation (for by common fame Mr. Pentloe was given out worth ten times that sum), they imagined the assigns had concealed the greatest part, and so threatened them with tortures to make them confess where it was. Upon which they gave an account of about twenty thousand dollars more, which they said was all; yet, being scared with severe threats and fearing what might be done to them, they agreed to compound for the estate and take all upon them, and thereupon they engaged in two months time to pay ninety thousand dollars, viz. one hundred purses, or fifty thousand for the Grand Signor's use; sixty purses, or thirty thousand dollars for the vizier, and twenty purses, or ten thousand dollars for the vizier's kaia; for which they were to have the whole estate renounced to them, and be discharged for it out of the treasury. After which they were brought in for a second part, that is to pay three thousand five hundred dollars to the officer that brought them from Smyrna, and was to attend them thither until the payment should be completed for his pains and charges.

192. "This they agreed, and returned by the way of Constantinople where they stayed fourteen or fifteen days. In all which time they never sought any redress for what they had done, but went about their business cheerfully enough and paid there ten thousand dollars of the money. And at their first arrival in Smyrna, they began and made some payments of monies; but the sum being very great, they now perceived themselves in a very great error: because they had not so much goods in their hands of the deceased as they thought they had, and that all people were shy to deal with them. They began also to perceive an impossibility of their compliance. Whereupon they made a proposition to the nation, to borrow twenty thousand dollars, with which they said they should be able to go through; but that not being to be had they quite desponded. And the Turks, seeing nothing done for the payment of the money, had not patience to expect the day of payment, but broke open the warehouses and made sale of the goods as they best could, that is what any one would buy; but the quantity of tin being too great to be all sold

for money, a good part of it was sent up to Constantinople; they, seeing this, abandoned all farther thoughts of the business and made appeal to my lord ambassador for protection, declaring they would concern themselves no farther therein.

193. "His lordship made answer, that what they had done was their own act, and that what they had promised and engaged themselves to pay under their hands, he could not relieve them against; but he would mitigate what possibly he could, that they might have longer time to raise the money. But they persisted to abandon the business; so the Turks, after they had made sale of all the goods they could and had accounted the goods sold and unsold, finding the value to fall considerably short of the money they stood engaged for, cast them into prison for the remainder, where they lay some months, obstinately resolved not to pay a penny more even to procure their freedom. In which time the widow takes one of her children, and goes up to Constantinople, with an intention, as was said, personally to appeal to the Grand Signor of the wrong done her and her children in the seizure of her husband's estate. But the vizier's ministers, hearing thereof, found her out, and part with fair and part with foul means, took her off and, upon her cries and complaints, gave her back her husband's house and gardens, worth three thousand five hundred dollars, and some money for her charges, and, for the assigns in prison, promised her that, for a quantity of Dutch cloth, importing near two thousand dollars, they should be freed.

194. "This she thought would have pleased them; the debt they stood engaged for, according to the making up the accounts at Smyrna, importing upwards of ten thousand dollars; and this the Turks might well do; for, the parcel of tin they had brought to Constantinople, in the re-sale, had advanced a large sum above what they had taken it at, enough to make up what was wanted. But the assigns in prison, although the business was drawn into so small a compass, refused to pay it to clear themselves, which was contrary to the counsel of all their friends; but were rather exasperated thereby than otherwise, saying they would lie there till a new ambassador should come

out when they doubted not but to have all the estate returned, which they said was taken from them only by a cheat and connivance. And that the Grand Signor and, perhaps, the vizier knew nothing of it. To such a pitch of madness were they grown; the Turks in the mean time, finding they did not comply, to force them to it, would have put them into a dungeon; but they resisted, and had liked to have killed an officer that came to remove them.

195. "The whole body of English merchants at Smyrna, seeing things in this posture, having pity upon them who had none on themselves, knowing also that some sad event would follow, by the mediation of Doctor Luke, the chaplain to the factory, raised among themselves about the sum of eighteen hundred dollars, which bought the quantity of Dutch cloth required, and so they were freed out of prison as they have ever since continued and gone about their business as if nothing of what had passed, ever was.

Reflections.

196. "The oversight that occasioned this avania, was the not obtaining beforehand an authentic licence for the departure of Mr. Pentloe's wife and children. It could not be disputed but they were the Grand Signor's subjects and that the goods were theirs; and if, by the law declared by the mufti, all the goods were forfeited for offering to leave the country, nothing could be done to save them but precariously; when Smith and Ashby were sent for they should have given a clear account, and when they had done, stood to it, but they owned not the whole truth, which being suspected by the Turks caused their hard usage; and thereupon their hearts fell and they were induced to agree upon terms which they could not perform. It may seem inhuman to censure men for yielding upon fear of torture; but, on the other side, it will be vain to blame the Turks for expecting performance of an agreement founded, as they pretended, on the law of their country."

The Fifth Avania, by the Vizier's detaining the Capitulations and restoring them again upon Payment of Eighteen Thousand Dollars.

197. "THIS avania happened since my leaving Turkey ; but, by relations I have thereof which are very large, I shall give the best account I can, for your satisfaction. I have formerly hinted to you, that the whole force of the Turkish law lies upon witness *viva voce* in the face of the adversary. Whereupon we, fearing that witness alone, without any other lawful proof of writings or instruments, if admitted against us, would be encouragement to rogues to make a daily practice to set upon our merchants for considerable sums, procured an article in our capitulations to prevent it ; which, though it would not be granted directly, yet, in some effect, was done ; and, as we desired, had its influence in several instances. The article runs thus—'That no *violett* (which in Turkish phrase is no more than false) witness shall be heard against an Englishman, and that the judge shall not take any cognizance in such cases, unless the party hath an *odgett*, or a judicial Turkish law-instrument, in his hand.' This, though at first sight it seems to signify nothing at all being prohibitory only of false witness, which without it are of no force ; yet hath been of great use to us ; for we have many interpretations thereof made by their great doctors, which declare that this article must extend to all witness, it not being possible for the judge to distinguish the true from the false ; and this gloss hath constantly served in inferior courts, and many times in the vizier's divan itself when he hath been favourably inclined. But at other times, in all ages, even by the best viziers we have been told that that article is only for inferior courts, and that the vizier looks upon himself to be above even the capitulations were they never so clear. Whereupon we have been always mighty tender thereof, and never produced them for that article but when we were beforehand sure it would pass.

198. "Enough hath been said in former letters of the vizier, to show his temper ; which, as it is violent in itself so also it is apt to credit violence in others, and doubtless is abused by poor impudent rascals who, throwing them-

selves at his feet with horrid cries, have persuaded him of their suffering great wrongs when in reality they have been the wrong-doers. And his person being seldom or never accessible to hear long discourses, it hath been scarce possible to take off a bad impression once made on him, as will appear by what follows.

199. "The pretence of detaining the capitulations was given by a Jew. This fellow had pawned to an English merchant some goods, part merchandize and part wearing apparel and jewels, which, he not being able to redeem them, were quite eat up. The merchant who had them was gone out of the country. This rogue Jew wanting bread so poor as ready to starve, and finding by many examples that, if he made noise enough and a large pretence, he should be sure to get somewhat, makes a demand against two merchants that were the assigns of him who was gone, pretending that they had his goods and that they were a great deal more than in reality they were; but not being able to make out anything of all that he said before the judge of Smyrna, he goes up to Constantinople and there obtains commands from the vizier, and brings up the merchants to justice before the vizier; which doubtless he then would have avoided by making composition with them. For when they came there, the Jew was not ready with his witnesses to prove that they were assigns to the merchants to whom he had pawned his goods, saying they were at Smyrna and other frivolous excuses; upon which they obtained leave to return to Smyrna, leaving two others to answer for them when the Jew should appear, as it was thought he never would.

200. "But not long after, having provided rogues like himself to be witnesses for him, a day was appointed for our merchants to appear and defend the suit. And they, knowing he depended on his witnesses, thought (very unadvisedly) to invalidate them by the aforesaid article in the capitulations, so thereupon they were produced in court, and the vizier without doubt took hold of this as an opportunity waited for, and ordered the capitulations to be left that he might consider the force of that article at leisure. But when they were demanded again, the answer was, that the vizier perceived many things in them which

he supposed were obtained by corruption in former times without the Grand Signor's knowledge, so that he would take time to show them to the Grand Signor and know his pleasure concerning them.

201. "This being taken into consideration, his malicious nature being known, and lest he should work some great mischief, overtures were made to his under-officers; and it was found that money was his aim. And under eighteen thousand dollars the matter would not be accommodated. This payment was yielded to as the lesser evil, and after performance the capitulations were restored. What became of the Jew, I cannot say positively; but I think he got something for his pretences also. The very same thing happened since to the Dutch, and to our last advices, is still depending and like to cost a great deal of money. But they propose to have their capitulations renewed into the bargain, which is very necessary for them it not having been done in fifty years.

Reflections.

202. "It was a great unhappiness that the nakedness of our capitulations in this particular should be exposed. Certainly it was more eligible to have paid a good sum than to have disputed this point, unless the success had been secured by some intelligence beforehand. For it must be acknowledged that the expressions are ambiguous: it might have been plainer expressed that no witness should be received against us, but that could not be obtained nor ever can be, because they reckon it a disgrace to their religion that Christians should reject the testimony of all Turks, as well as others, as not credible: but granted in such ambiguous terms as they were, served our turns in inferior courts effectually and before the vizier also, when we had secured his favour. It is acknowledged by all, that formerly the English were very tender in producing their capitulations in that point, even before viziers who were commended for justice and humanity; and it appears by the late ill success, that the policy was reasonable, and therefore it will be very necessary to be cautious for the future in this particular; either to bespeak favour underhand by presents, or defend by objections to the witnesses,

which, however in themselves not valid to set aside their testimony, yet with the help of the capitulations may bring the witnesses under the notion of *violett*, or false witness.

203. "But, after all, it must be acknowledged barbarous to detain the capitulations. All the excuse the vizier can make, if he can be called to an account, is that it was but to consider them with intentions to restore them ; and because he thought fit an explanation should be made of that doubtful expression for the Grand Signor's service and common justice's sake, which explanation, if any such had been, must have been of far worse consequence than the price of redeeming them ; therefore it was wisely done to prevent it by this ransom. It may reasonably be feared, that any complaint of this matter to the Grand Signor or grand vizier would bring the same questions upon the stage again, which, without a greater price, in all likelihood would not be determined for our advantage."

The Sixth Avania, now depending, being for demands made by a late Basha of Tunis.

204. "For the better understanding of this avania, it is necessary to say somewhat of the government the Turks have upon the coasts of Barbary. Ever since the Turks lost their power at sea and forebore sending out their mighty fleets beyond the Archipelago, they lost all their command upon the African coast beyond Egypt. Not that the Moors ever drove out their garrisons or rebelled ; but their own soldiers, that were in garrison, maintained what they had in charge for themselves ; setting up tumultuous commonwealths, with which they have subsisted ever since. But they still acknowledge the Grand Signor, by yearly presents to him and receiving titular officers and commanders from him. And, without this, they could not have subsisted ; for out of his territories they have supplies of men when their occasions require. And, did they not in some measure depend upon him, he would not permit them that recourse.

205. "This is the occasion of the basha's travelling between Constantinople and Tunis, which passage is left to him to procure for his own safety the best he can. And com-

monly he gets thither well enough ; but is often put to it in his return, when he is loaded with the spoils of his government.

206. "The present basha, being destitute of his passage homewards, upon the arrival of his succours, freighted an English ship, then in the port of Tunis, to bring him as far as Seio ; and accordingly embarked with all he had. But before they had sailed far, a ship of Leghorn, a privateer in Corso against the Turks, gave them chase ; whereupon, knowing that, in case they could not escape her, she would take out the Turks and all they had as good prize, they made to a shore and, before the privateer could come up with them, set the basha and his men ashore ; but the ship was afterwards carried to Malta and pillaged of all the Turks' goods that were in her. Advice hereof arriving in England, about the time that Sir John Finch was going out ambassador for Constantinople, it was thought fit that he should call at Leghorn and Malta to procure restitution of those goods so taken out of an English ship, which was feared might be demanded of the English in Turkey. According to which, his excellency calling at Leghorn, met there with a Turk sent thither by the basha to look after his goods ; unto whom, by his lordship's assistance, several goods, money, and slaves, were returned : and, calling at Malta, had several goods from thence likewise delivered to the Turk ; all which goods, together with his lordship's, he carried into the Levant upon his own ship and delivered them to the basha, who, though very glad to receive what he had, yet complained still to want a great deal and often urged his lordship to get the same likewise returned ; but was not so impudent then to pretend the ambassador was liable to make them good, as now he doth.

207. "This basha was soon after sent to govern on the farther part of Egypt, near Ethiopia, whence it was hoped he would never return ; his lordship always apprehending some trouble might come from him, especially since the time of this Vizier Azem, who hath so willingly heard all manner of complaints against the Franks, as hath been since found. This basha returning to Constantinople did not, as formerly, desire the ambassador would procure the restitution of his remaining goods but positively demanded

them of him ; alleging them to be far more than he had ever before pretended, and indeed more than possibly could be.

208. " His excellency was not wanting in using all means to give the vizier a true account of all the business; whereupon a private hearing was ordered of the ambassador and basha before some of the principal officers of the vizier. At which his excellency made appear all that he had done at Leghorn and Malta, and the goods thereon restored : which was courtesy and not obligation. So that the vizier's officers were so far satisfied of the reason on the ambassador's part, that the reis effendi promised to give the vizier full satisfaction therein ; and that he would engage for two purses, that is a thousand dollars, he should never more hear thereof : which sum was promised to be paid, when the vizier should call for a hearing of the business and conclude in favour of the English.

209. " Some time passed before a day of hearing was appointed ; which being come, the vizier having the chief judge by him, heard the basha at large, who made his pretences on the English nation in general, saying that the English consul in Tunis invited him to freight the English ship, and engaged to him that he should be safely transported ; also he said, that when he met the privateer, he would have fought, and not forsaken the ship, but the captain would not suffer him ; saying, he should not lose any thing. Then he denied that any thing had been restored to him, disowning the Turk he had sent to Leghorn to be any servant of his ; but withal said that the ambassador, when he came first and dined with him, had told him that all his goods were recovered and that he should have them restored to him. Then he gave a list of his goods, which the vizier ordered to be interpreted to the ambassador ; whereunto the ambassador answered, ' That he knew nothing of it.' The first thing the vizier said was, ' Tell the ambassador, that he is here to answer for the blood and estates of all Mussulmen that suffer by default of the English ;' and bade him give his answer to it. My lord replied, ' That the Grand Signor himself could not secure his ships from corsairs nor caravans from the Arabs, and that against thieves only Heaven can protect.' The vizier

told the basha, ‘That he should make legal proof of what he said and he would find him a paymaster.’ The chief judge said, ‘He must make particular proof of every parcel that it was consigned and accepted ;’ which was almost impossible to be done. Then a *fetfa* was produced, that an obligation to recover goods from corsairs or thieves, or lost is not valid ; and that no one is responsible for more than he shall really recover. After much discourse, both parties were dismissed without any determination. At first, when the judge took his book to write as is usual when they judge cases, the vizier said, ‘It is a long business and he need not write any thing, but hear it dis-coursed.’ The vizier all the while was somewhat sharp upon us and sometimes on the basha ; so that we parted not without hopes. But, in the afternoon, the vizier’s kaia sent for the dragoman, and told him this was too great a matter to be passed over without a present ; and that a jewel of fifteen purses was to be the vizier’s *reglio* : and my lord had two days time to consider of it. To this my lord returned answer, ‘That, as an ambassador, he would not treat for a farthing ; but as a gentleman he would not be ungrateful, when the business was concluded.’ To which, all the answer the kaia gave, was, ‘He knows best.’ In this manner the business had continued about twenty-four days, when the dragoman going to the vizier’s kaia about other business, he asked why the money for the basha of Tunis’ business was not sent ; that the vizier would acquaint the Grand Signor with it, &c. And so it hung till the last advices : and the opinion of the merchants there was generally, that, in case the vizier’s mouth be not stopped but that he be left to bring it about again, the avania may be very severe. But the ambassador, having been blamed by the company for other compositions, says, he is resolved to stand this out and see the utmost the grand vizier will do in it. And so it depends.

Reflections.

210. “The pretence of the basha of Tunis, though most unjust, yet was foreseen would prove troublesome ; which made the Company take care to procure restitution. And,

though the good vizier seemed satisfied with what the English had done, yet the basha murmured ; and it was foreseen, some years before his return, that if ever he came back in this vizier's time he would revive the suit : therefore, it had been prudent to have accepted the first offers which, in Turkey, are always cheapest, and procured discharges from the basha ; which would have been a precedent for the time to come.

211. "This case had been better defended if the English had not at all meddled to get restitution of any part of the goods ; for the Turks build all their arguments from thence—' That he took the nation to be bound to do it—That he might have got restitution of all as easily as of part.' And as for the discourse and promises of the ambassador, though false and unjust, yet they gave a colour to their proceedings ; so that, for the future it will be necessary to avoid all intermeddling of that kind, and not to come in their way, though to do them courtesies ; for they will never acknowledge any, but raise pretences on all possible occasions."

[*A Continuation of the farther Proceedings in the Avanious Demand of the Tunis Basha, and its final Conclusion ; with an Account of another Avania, and the Lawsuit about the Misteria Privilege ; with some Passages following upon the Defeat at Vienna ; all which matters, being of like nature with the former, are here added, as they were extracted from other correspondencies from the same house at Constantinople.]*

212. "THE Vizier Azem having made his demand of fifteen purses, to determine that demand in favour of the English ; which sum the Turks thought little to free so great a demand ; and the English thought it too much to give on so false a pretence ; and the Turks, finding they could fasten nothing certain on us but good words, 'that the business being done, we would not be ungrateful ;' the vizier again calls the ambassador to justice with intention, to all appearance, really to condemn us in some very considerable sum which, between him and the Grand Signor, should have been eaten up and the basha get but little.

213. "When we were come to justice in the vizier's house, the basha makes a double demand against us of a thousand purses of money, specifying the particulars, till the vizier cried, 'Hold; it is enough;' and yet the basha cried, he had yet farther demands. The vizier demands the ambassador's answer; which was, in short, to deny all and to argue that we were not liable to answer so unjust a demand. But, after all we could say, we had certainly been condemned, but that the ambassador found out an expedient to demand time to acquaint the King of England therewith; for which end a convenient time was granted.

214. "The demanding time, in Turkey, is commonly, by the Turkish officers, understood as if the party had a mind to compound with them. And certainly so the grand vizier understood it; which made him grant it so easily: but afterwards, finding soon how he was frustrated, I believe he heartily repented of it. Soon after, came advices to Constantinople of Sir John Finch's being recalled, and my Lord Chandos going to succeed him, who would bring letters in answer to his demand, from his majesty; which advice the ambassador sent to court and thereby stopped all proceedings. [A.D. 1682.]

215. "A vizier is, in some measure, afraid of an ambassador, till he hath had his audience of the Grand Signor, where he may easily and unavoidably complain of him; which audience being once passed, it is very hard for an ambassador to make complaints; because the vizier hath all his creatures about the Grand Signor: so that nothing can be done without attempting desperate means, which ambassadors, especially of rich nations, do not but on very great exigencies attempt. My Lord Chandos arrives at Constantinople, and brings from his majesty of England to the vizier, and to the Grand Signor, letters of two sorts; one to be delivered in case the vizier did not comply, of a high nature; and the other, as usual, of ceremony only, to be delivered in case all went well.

216. "In the first audience with the vizier, the ambassador, Lord Chandos, delivers the high letter from his majesty to the vizier, which the vizier read over all himself; and made no other reply thereto only bade him welcome. In this letter of his majesty to the vizier, he

found his avanias laid open and the king of England demanding justice for the detention of the capitulations, a thing of a high nature ; at which he was strangely surprised : for, though it was not imputed to him but [to] his kaia (who had been strangled a little before) yet the vizier, to clear himself thereof, ordered three hundred purses, or a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be paid to the treasurer by the Jew his merchant, which was the sum the vizier received. The Jew pretended it was the dead kaia's money ; but we knew well it was paid out of the vizier's own treasury ; and the vizier ordered the ambassador not to say a word more of that matter. The money was received with all joy by the ambassador and nation, as a happy omen (being the ambassador's first negotiation) that all successors would be as prosperous : but there wanted not amongst us some who feared the ill consequences, which shortly after we found, paying too dear for this money.

217. "In the same letter his majesty told the vizier, that he had examined into the demand of the Basha of Tunis ; in which he found all falseness and ingratitude ; and that, after so great kindness as freeing his goods from pirates of Malta and Leghorn, which he neither was nor could be obliged to do ; he therefore required to have the basha exemplarily punished, for making so unreasonable and false a demand. This letter had the desired effect ; for the vizier wholly dismissed that business ; which, I think, was all. But since, the Tunis basha is dead and his heirs made the same claim, which is overcome and a *quietus* obtained ; which hath removed all fears of farther trouble from it.

218. "Hitherto all goes well and on our side ; but the king's men of war, with the old ambassador, being departed, the grand vizier began to recollect with himself how he had been deceived of his hopes by us, first in losing so great a sum, as he expected, out of the Tunis basha's business ; and, secondly, in refunding such a sum as three hundred purses which he had kept so long in his maw ; and, therefore, resolved revenge upon us : And, consulting his jackals, the great customers of Constantinople and Smyrna, he was by them put into the following way.

A Seventh Avania, of about Three per cent. Custom of Silk outward.

219. "In Turkey, as in all countries, the importer pays one custom and the exporter another; but, at Smyrna, to avoid stealing of custom, which the Franks performed more cunningly than the people of the country, the Turks found it least liable to cheats to receive the exporting custom of the seller; so that the Frank, by his own hands, as exporter, pays no custom. But, in the form of the capitulations, we are to pay three per cent. custom, outwards as well as inwards. Upon which foot, the vizier demands three per cent. on all silk that had been shipped in five years time last past; which account would have produced near two hundred purses of money, or a hundred thousand dollars. The vizier, having had so ill success in meddling with the ambassador himself, thought fit to send him word, he had nothing to say to him, but the customer demanding against the merchants, he must and would do him justice. Upon this account the ambassador is sent for to the vizier's, with positive orders to bring all his merchants with him; which he was forced to obey; and there found many of the great officers of the empire.

220. "The Turks at first were very civil to the ambassador, declaring that this was the customer's demand against the merchants, in which the vizier must do justice. The kaia went into another apartment to the grand vizier; and, returning to the ambassador, declared, that the vizier had ordered the merchants to be put in prison, till they paid the custom of silk exported. To which the customer replied, there was no occasion for such a crowd, two of the chief were enough. So two merchants of the chief house were seized by the *chiauses*. The ambassador urged what was possible to be alleged in our defence, but could not be effectual; when, taking one of them by the hand, he had great affronts put upon him; which farther to prevent, they stole away with their *chiauses*; and his lordship retired to his house, hoping time would show some remedy to this desperate business.

221. "But, to show how great a height of irreligion the Turks are come to in acting this violence contrary to their

own law, take this passage, which happened to one of the merchants who was a chief actor in this affair. He finding that, with his companion, he was going to prison, which, in Turkey, is extreme bad, and the prisoners exposed to great cruelties and tortures, thought best to say somewhat of himself ; and thereupon he cried out, in the Turkish language, ‘ That the Vizier Azem’s command was to put the silk merchants in prison for custom due from them ; and that he was no silk merchant and had never shipped any, and appealed to their law.’ Now, the Turkish religiou hath this article in it, that the Turk who refuseth to go to the law when required is divorced from his wife, his children are bastards, and he an infidel. All the great officers were startled at this appeal ; but the customer of Constantinople, with great threats, told the merchant that he would prove it upon him ; and so bade the officers carry him away, which they did.

222. “ They continued in prison, in all, forty-two days ; in which time there wanted not treaties to accommodate the business, which, at last, with utmost difficulty, was concluded, by payment of an hundred and ten purses, or fifty-five thousand dollars. The merchants continued tolerably in health thirty-eight days, when one of them, he that had appealed to the law, fell ill ; and, upon occasion of the ambassador’s interpreter coming to him, he said to the interpreter, in Turkish, ‘ That he would not die there : if he owed any man any thing, he would pay him : if he had done any crime, let his head fly : since the ambassador could not free him, he had slaves in his house, and he would send one of them with an *arze*¹ to the Grand Signor.’ This was thought, considering the spies that constantly attended them, to contribute not a little to a speedy conclusion ; for, in two or three days time after, they were freed.

223. “ To demonstrate farther the precipitate violence of Cara Mustapha, I will add what happened to the chief Dutch merchant and secretary to the ambassador, Signor de Brusses. He had a demand on a Greek for a thousand dollars, for which he was forced to carry him before the

¹ An irresistible appeal to the Grand Signor with fire, to be, on failing of right, capital.

vizier, where, making some small mistake, the vizier said he was a cheat. To which he replied, ‘That Franks use not to make false demands.’ The vizier understanding that to reflect on Turks, as saying they did, was so angry, that he immediately ordered him two hundred drubs on the bare feet, in public divan, of which he had a hundred and eighty; and it was thought he never recovered it, for soon after he died.”

An Account of the Misteria Privilege in Turkey, by the Merchant imprisoned, and who appealed to the law, as above.

224. “THE *misteria* is a duty of one per cent. upon all goods by measure, and one and a half upon all goods sold by weight. This lies very heavy on some goods, and was exacted very troublesomely on our English merchants, especially for their lead and tin.

225. “A Jew was farmer of this duty in Tikerdag, a little city near Constantinople. This man, having to do with Armenians, had great contests with them; and the better to fortify himself in his demands and to get the duty of them, sought to get the *barratt* itself, which is the patent of the MISTERI-aga of Galata, and the order or warrant of the duty; but they that had it, would by no means produce it. This Jew, being a cunning fellow and resolving, if possible, to get the better whatever it cost him, applied to the grand signor’s chief page, called Sellectar-aga; and, by laying out about two hundred dollars in small agreeable presents, he obtains an authentic copy of the MISTERI-aga’s *barratt*. But it stood him in no stead; for it did not contain any warrant for his claim against the Armenians.

226. “Upon this he was much offended, and finding his money thrown away to no purpose, desired by any means to get some of it back again. In order to which, he applied himself to me, whom he thought he might safely trust; and, by making some small discoveries to me, as he thought might well turn to account for what he might receive for his pains, not imagining, as was believed, that the import was so great as it proved, obtained a promise of a reason-

able reward and left the book with me. I for divers weeks together strictly examined it and, in so doing, was much surprised to find how the nation was abused, by being made to pay sharp duties without any title or warrant. And, thereupon, I acquainted the ambassador and the nation with this discovery, and the evidence I had by an authentic copy of the *barratt*; and thereupon the ambassador gave the Jew a reward of a hundred dollars; and it proved the saving to the nation of above two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, in that place; for, in several lawsuits before the kaimacham, cadis, &c., we obtained sentence in our favour.

227. "It may not be amiss to relate the manner of our proceeding. The French ambassador, at his audience, sought an article to settle the *misteria*, which much startled me; for I concluded, if it were settled by capitulation with one Frank nation, they would hear nothing against it from others; and thereupon I communicated this grand secret to a French merchant, and showed him what might be gained by law and how their article would deprive them of that advantage. The Monsieur was sensible and wrote to the ambassador so as stopped the proceeding in that point. Our ambassador, understanding this, was in a most furious rage with me, as if I had disclosed the secrets of his nation. But I gave him reason, upon consideration of which he was satisfied.

228. "After this, I called the Misteri-agá to law, and the cause came at last to hearing before the vizier. He refused to compel the agá to show his *barratt*, as giving opportunity to pick holes in it; but said, 'If you would know any particular matters, I will search and tell you.' Then I asked what duty I was to pay for —; the agá demanded ——————; and it was, upon search, found to be but ——————: difference enough; and the vizier ordered that to be the rate. Then, having this encouragement, I came to my main point; 'Sir,' said I, 'I have brought in great quantities of lead and tin, necessary for the wars at a time when you cannot be without it.' The vizier took good notice of that lead and tin and, searching, found it to pay but ——————, at which the agá was much startled, for he

demanded and used to receive ——————. This was a thing so unexpected to both the vizier and aga, that they fell to searching the *barratt* over and over again; but, after all, could find no other rate: whereupon sentence went accordingly; to which the conjuncture of the wars did not a little contribute. But, all this while the copy was a great secret, and so ought to continue among the merchants for ever; for it serves only to point out the weak places. And, if the copy had then been showed, it would have been taken from them and means found to trace the deliverer, and the Jew, as well as his friend, have suffered fatally for it.

229. "This service I did the company and nation in Turkey; and in my return, expected their acknowledgments in some honorary way; but, so far from that, I have not had common thanks and scarce good looks; which confirms an old lesson, that 'He who serves a community must secure a reward by his own means, or expect it from God.'"

Some Passages since the cutting off Cara Mustapha, and his ill Management of the Hungarian War; by the same Merchant.

230. "ORDERS were sent to Belgrade (where, after the rout at Vienna, he was retreated) for taking off his head; and, at the same time, to Constantinople, by the great master of the horse, for seizing all his estate; which was done with great rigour. [12 Sep., 1685.]

231. "This master of the horse (now vizier) was an old friend to our nation; which disposed the ambassador to wait on him, telling him how barbarously we had been treated, and instanced in divers particulars. Sullaman Aga, as he was called, desired these might be listed and given to him, saying he would show it to the Grand Signor; which was so done and, among others, the list showed that of Pentloe's estate, that imported two hundred and ten thousand dollars. The Grand Signor, on sight of the list, ordered that, due proofs being made, the heirs of the vizier should be made to give satisfaction. So all seemed hopeful and very fair.

232. "But that putting us upon proofs was, in truth, as much as to say we should have nothing ; for to bring legal witness was next to impossible. Our own dragomen and servants were Christians whose testimony passeth not against Turks ; then, such bribing tyrannizing businesses are always acted underhand with all privacy ; so that few or none but the very actors know of them. And divers times the vizier's money was assigned to Jews, whose testimony also will not pass ; and the actors were the vizier's creatures who, on his death, were generally dispersed : so that there is no proof left except Usine Aga, the great customer of Constantinople. This man could testify all and find other witnesses ; but never will be persuaded to it."

Memorandums of some things that passed in the Transactions at Adrianople, 1675, when Sir John Finch had his Audience of the Grand Signor, and renewed the Capitulations.

235. "At Sir John Finch's first arrival at Adrianople, he was infinitely displeased with his conack (or lodging), it being neither for honour nor convenience fit for his lordship's reception ; the fault of which was imputed to Signor Antonio Perone, his second dragoman, who had been there almost two months before, chiefly for the providing his lordship's honourable reception and convenience there. His lordship's anger proceeded to that height against Signor Antonio, that he vowed, with the most execrable protestations, never to be reconciled nor to suffer him to stay in town ; but threatened to warn him in twenty-four hours to be gone for Constantinople, else he would have him drubbed. Signor Antonio took no farther notice thereof, but retired to his private lodging and gave out that his affairs required him at Constantinople whither he was ready to go. Signor Georgio Drapieres, the chief dragoman, the next day, by order from court had a better house, belonging to a Jew, emptied whither his excellency removed ; still keeping the other also for servants, &c. which somewhat appeased. Then, after the end of three days, Mr. Hyat advised Signor Antonio to humble himself

to my lord and ask his pardon. He went presently, and did it; and my lord immediately forgave all and took him into as full grace and favour as ever.

236. "His excellency, thus settled, called the nation together, and advised with them what new articles he should demand to be inserted in the capitulations; which being agreed upon and turned into Turkish, they were sent to the vizier's kaia that they might be by him presented to the vizier, having first had the advice of the reis effendi (or chancellor as to acts of state), who had promised his assistance in the passing. The kaia received them very favourably, giving the like fair promises of his assistance. Some days after, the dragomen soliciting for an answer from the kaia and reis effendi; it was demanded whether, in the article relating to the custom of cloth, the cloth of his own nation only, or that of other nations also, was intended; which his excellency was glad to hear; and, to clear that point fully, sent them word that he meant it only for English cloth, and was willing they should except Dutch, French and Venetian, expressly by name, if they pleased. The dragomen, continuing this solicitation, were told, that matter of the articles must be consulted with the teftardar, or chief treasurer; but the Grand Signor keeping then solemn feasts upon the circumcision of his son and marriage of his daughter, they must attend till those were over before any business would be done, nor could they but very seldom during those feasts, come to the speech of either the kaia or reis effendi.

237. "The holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, for many ages had remained in the custody of the Latins; though all sorts of Christians had permission of saying their mass and prayers there at certain seasons, and in a certain course. Now there was a certain Greek, Paniotache by name, who had served the Germans for many years as chief dragoman and, during the wars in Candia, was in the camp with the vizier; where, being serviceable, he had obtained his favour in a great degree; and, taking his times, insinuated into the vizier that the Greeks were faithful subjects of the Turkish empire; whereas the Latins, or Franks, had kingdoms and empires and lived in hopes again to conquer and possess the Holy Land, when-

ever they might be but at peace among themselves ; and that this their custody of the holy sepulchre was a kind of footing that they pretended to hold of their old right. That among Christians, the custody of that holy place was looked on as a great honour and prerogative, and that it was much fitter for the honour of the Turkish empire, that their vassals, who were faithful to them and had no other dependence, should be honoured with it, rather than strangers who for the most part are in perpetual hostility and, at best, but false friends. By such means, he obtained privately (his own nation knowing little thereof until it was done) a solemn grant of the thing desired confirmed by the Grand Signor's own signature. But, considering how he had been all along a servant to the Franks, he enjoined the Greeks not to make use thereof until after his decease, which not long after the vizier's return from Candia happened ; when the Patriarch of Jesusalem took out commands, and was put in possession of the Sepulchre, and the Franks drove out without being able by any means to defend themselves ; though great offers of money had been made and all endeavours used.

238. "The friars of Jerusalem that attended this business, desirous to move every stone that might be for their advantage, hearing that his lordship intended a renewal of the capitulations, were very desirous to get an article inserted in their favour which, one day, might be a means for obtaining their point. For they found that, in the maintenance of the privileges they had long enjoyed and had many private grants for, they wanted the solid fund of a nation and an ambassador to stand up for them, which, in Turkey, are things of a considerable figure, and can at any time press business when poor friars cannot be heard ; especially those that live in Jerusalem, that are Spaniards, who have no peace or treaty with the Turks. Thereupon they applied to his lordship, and showed him the article they desired, both in Turkish and Italian, telling his lordship that they would willingly spend, to have it inserted in the capitulations, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. Whereupon his lordship procured a private audience of the kaia and moved him in the matter, who very kindly received him and, when he moved the matter relating to the

Frank friars, had very fair words given him and great hopes that the same should be obtained; to such a degree that his lordship thought the business most easy to be done and feared somebody else might get it before him, so he conjured the kaia that it should not be granted to any other but himself.

239. " His excellency then also treated about giving his majesty of England the title of *Padisha*, as the French have in their capitulations. He received most civil and courteous expressions from the kaia, with great promises, &c. But he was told that now, during the feasts, nothing could be treated of; but as soon as they were over, he should have all imaginable dispatch. Things standing thus and the dragomen taking all opportunities to solicit, were often told by the kaia and reis that the articles had been several times read over to the vizier, and that all were passed, only in the article concerning securing the goods of English principals in the hands of such factors as should become Turks; whereas it was required that Christian witness might pass in such cases, it could not be so granted; but the proofs were put upon the treasurer's books and bills of lading, wherewith his excellency was well satisfied.

240. " About this time, when his excellency intended another visit to the kaia, the dragomen were sent for, and the kaia told them that the Grand Signor, having occasion to send an aga to Tunis from Smyrna, it was desired that he might be transported in an English ship; to which purpose he required his letter to the consul of Smyrna; which, though unwillingly, (yet not thinking it fit, in these exigencies, to deny what they must think so small a matter) his lordship granted. But the letter, being in such general terms and too indifferent, would not do at Smyrna, so the messenger returned for a more positive order; which also, on the same reasons, was granted and the business done. Hereupon his excellency took occasion to mention the business of Tripoli, and was promised that the vizier, by this messenger, should write effectually as they said he did; though no letter was seen, but his excellency, on his part, wrote by the said Turk a letter to Sir John Narborough to the same purpose.

241. " The Greek patriarch, having now got knowledge

of his excellency's having undertaken the business for the Latin friars, came and demanded an audience of his lordship, wherein he laid down the ancient protection the Greeks always had from the English nation, desiring in like manner his lordship's continuance thereof. Whereunto his lordship replied with all civility and fair words, undertaking to adjust the business between the Franks and them, provided they would stand to what was right and reason ; whereupon his lordship had large discourse with them, entering into the particular matters of the business, still arguing in favour of the Franks so that the Greeks went away with little satisfaction. A few days after, the patriarch of Jerusalem wrote a letter to his excellency, wherein he pretended to be indisposed so that he could not attend his lordship in person, but desired that Mr. Covel, our minister,¹ might be sent to him, having some things to discourse which were not proper for a letter. At his coming the patriarch declared openly, that he well knew the ambassador for a sum of money had undertaken the Latins' part ; but that he should write to the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he doubted not but his lordship would receive as much thanks for assisting them as the others.

242. "About this time also, letters came from England, relating severe courses against the Roman Catholics, and his excellency much cooled in the friars' business, and began to declare that he would not put their article into the capitulations ; but he would endeavour to procure them another *hattesherif* in their favour. At this the friars were much troubled, and pressed all they could to have it in the capitulations, offering more money ; but, not being heard, were contented it should be as his excellency pleased.

243. "His excellency, during the feasts, sent frequent presents of wine of Christendom &c. to the kaia and to Usine Aga, the great customer of Constantinople ; unto whom also his lordship very much desired to give a treat at his

¹ John Covel, D.D., afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. North, in using the word *minister*, does not mean that Covel was employed in any civil capacity ; he was *Chaplain* to the Turkey Company from 1670 till 1676. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* *sub nomine*.

house, and often sent to invite him. But he never came though he many times promised it; and always, when he saw the dragomen, either at the kaia's or elsewhere, he spoke most kindly to them, saluting the ambassador, &c. And once, the dragomen passing by, he called them up and told them that all the demands his excellency had made were granted, and that henceforward the king of England should be called *Padisha* as well as the French king: but withal wondered that they should think such grants were to be obtained for nothing, and told them money was expected; whereupon the dragomen went to the reis and acquainted him therewith, who also confirmed the same to them and farther said he understood the same from the kaia. The dragomen coming with this news to his excellency, he rejoiced at it taking it as a sure argument of the success of his business, and next day he sent the dragomen to the kaia and promised him one thousand chequines for the vizier, one thousand dollars for himself, and the like for the reis.

244. "In this posture the business stood during the feasts. Until those were over there was no hopes either of audience or knowing any greater certainty of our business. However, the dragomen often went to the kaia and reis, and always brought from them news that all was granted and that, when the feasts were over, his lordship should have his audience and be dispatched. The feasts ended, and applications were made for dispatch and it was promised to be suddenly; but put off for some weeks till the day of pay¹ was come. During all which time, solicitations being also made concerning the business, it was again reported that some of the articles must be showed to the *teftardar*; which much displeased his excellency, fearing Usine Aga might have done somewhat prejudicial to the cloth article: whereupon it was thought good (Usine Aga never having come to his lordship) that

¹ [I think, Sir Paul Rycaut takes notice, that the Turks pay their officers their salaries in the presence of some foreign ambassador; to the intent that other nations may be witnesses of the great riches of the Turkish empire, when they shall see four or five hundred thousand dollars upon the table. This is what is meant here by the pay day.]
Note in the Original.

his lordship should make him a visit to see whether or not any opposition was to be feared from him ; and, for the better colour, his excellency pretended to discourse him upon some disputes about the custom of silk. After they had talked some time together, Usine Aga told the ambassador that he had to acquaint him as a friend, of a business which was by grant of the Grand Signor, and that was concerning the new Custom-house at Smyrna, where all ships were now ordered to come and unload as at Constantinople ; the which, he told his excellency, it was in vain for the Franks to oppose, so counselled him not to stir in it. Whereunto his lordship replied very little, only that he had not yet any cognizance of the case but should carry himself therein with all justice and moderation ; and so they parted with great professions of mutual kindness.

245. " His excellency, for better countenance to the dragomen in their complaint of delaying his audience, wrote a letter to the kaia pressing expedition, and desiring to know if there was any stop in his business and where it lay, declaring himself ready to argue any point before the vizier with anyone that should oppose it ; desiring also his counsel how he should behave himself and whether he would advise him to make any applications directly to the vizier, or no ; whereto the kaia answered with all kindness possible, that his excellency should not trouble himself, but that all was well and granted ; and that as soon as the *teftardar* could get money ready for the pay my lord should have his audience and dispatch.

246. " Pay-day came, and my lord received his audience with the usual formalities ; then new applications were made to the kaia for dispatch ; and, instead of finding all things complete and done, it appeared that they had then only begun to read over the articles and to consult what was fit to be done. This was most evident, in regard the paper, which his excellency gave in with the articles at first, could not be found for some time. The kaia and reis putting the having thereof on one another ; and, at last after much search, it was found in the hands of a page of the vizier's. And, as for the word Padisha, my lord was told positively that the Grand Signor would not consent that it should be put in. After some time, the articles were brought to my

lord as they were drawn up by the reis, in phrase fit for the capitulations, which was with great joy read over to his excellency; but being showed to the vizier, he caused them to be wrote over again in two papers, the one of which contained such articles as had any relation to the revenue, as the custom of cloth, silk, &c. the which the vizier caused to be sent to the *teftardar basha*, to have his opinion whether it contained any thing prejudicial to the public treasure; but the others he gave with his *beycardish* (or order) that they should be wrote in the capitulations. Hereupon the dragoman applied to the *teftardar* and had many conferences with him. He demanded for what reason they desired these articles, and why the capitulations might not pass as they had done hitherto. Whereto was replied, that it was that we might be at a certainty and not to fall every day in dispute with ignorant and impertinent customers. To that he, smiling, answered, that was not the reason; our intent was, to bring a finer cloth than we did formerly and to pay no more custom than for a coarse. However he promised to pass it. He had some discourse also about the *hattesherif* of Aleppo, why it could not remain as it had done many years, and that now it must needs be put into the capitulations. However he rested satisfied and said all should pass; but yet we had great doubts and fears; and the business not being done, my lord, the next day, made another visit to the kaia wherein his excellency argued the cloth business and gave in to the kaia a list of the extraordinary custom we paid on many other goods; to all which the kaia answered, that his lordship need not doubt but the *teftardar* would pass all and the business should suddenly be done.

247. "At this audience, his lordship had some discourse likewise about the word Padisha, to which the kaia answered, that it was just and reasonable and that he would move the vizier again about it. Also his excellency moved the kaia in the business of the friars of Jerusalem, to which the kaia seemed easy, and desired an *arze*, or petition, to move the vizier thereon, which his excellency having ready, gave him, and he promised to deliver it to the Vizier Azem and move him on their behalf.

248. "Few days after, the articles being come to the

reis, and he having begun to ingross the capitulations, the kaia minded the dragomen of the money they had promised, bidding them get it ready ; which was accordingly done and, by his excellency's order, a day was appointed for the payment thereof. And because the *teftardar* had so civilly passed the articles, a present was ordered by his excellency for him, which the dragomen and treasurer going to deliver, they met the news of his being displaced (for he was made basha of Grand Cairo), so they returned and saved that present. The appointed day for the payment of the money being come, the treasurer and dragomen went with the same and finding the kaia in the vizier's house, he told them, it was very well but he would not meddle therewith before he had spoke with the basha. Thence they went to the reis effendi, who willingly took the money brought for him and, showing the articles, which were then drawn up fair, all was as expected, only the article concerning turning Turk ; and there, whereas it was said the proof should be put upon the treasurer's books and bills of lading, that was quite taken out and the thing left without any proof at all but as the law of the country stood.

249. "The dragoman going to the kaia for an answer to the *arze* in behalf of the friars of Jerusalem, the kaia told them his excellency would do well to leave all thoughts of that matter ; for the vizier would not hear of it ; but as a business done by the Grand Signor, it must remain as it is. And, for the capitulations, they went on, and the dragomen daily brought an account of the progress ; as their being wrote, signed by the reis, the *turah*, or royal firm, set, &c. and remaining in the hands of the vizier who waited an opportunity to present them to the Grand Signor to sign.

250. "The dragomen going daily to the kaia to press expedition, received promises that all would be ready suddenly and inquiring the vizier's pleasure, concerning the money promised, received for answer, that he had spoke with the vizier thereof, and that he said, he had not hitherto taken anything of any ambassador and would not now ; but what he had done was for right and justice. Whereupon it plainly appeared, that, notwithstanding the kaia in the beginning had pressed for money, yet the vizier knew nothing of it ; nor did he expect but what was done

would have been without any mention of it; and all was a stratagem of the kaia and reis to get money for themselves.

251. "The dragomen pressed again about the word *Padisha*, to which the kaia replied, that he had endeavoured all that was possible, but without effect; not having been able to obtain it, though he, in opposition to the French, desired it so much that he would willingly spend five purses (or two thousand five hundred dollars) of his own money, that we might have it. These answers his excellency received with great joy, and immediately ordered the treasurer and dragonien to carry him his money the next day; and, seeing the vizier had, with so much gentility, refused the money, the dragomen were ordered to tell the kaia, that his lordship had the same books of *Atlas*, which the Dutch had formerly presented to the Grand Signor, which, if he thought they would be acceptable, he would present to the grand vizier, together with some superfine vests of cloth, at his audience, when he should receive the capitulations from his hand. To which the kaia answered, that he would acquaint the vizier, and know his pleasure concerning the books; but, for his part of the money, they might bring it; which was accordingly done the next day betimes in the morning to his own house, where, after the treasurer and dragomen had some time attended his coming out, they understood that he had taken horse at the women's apartment; which when the dragomen were apprised of, they ran to him and told him that they had brought the money, which he bade them deliver to his treasurer, or chief page; but when the kaia was gone, the *hasnadar* absolutely refused to meddle with it without immediate order from the kaia, saying he had many times received blame in such cases, the money paid him having proved less than it ought to have been. So the dragomen went to the vizier's house, and spoke with him thereof, when he wrote two words on a scrap of paper, which being brought to the *hasnadar* he made no farther scruple, but took the money in a manner as if it had been payment of a due debt bending and trying the pieces of gold, and telling it twice over.

252. "The dragomen still continue their solicitations

for dispatch, but without effect; all answers being still dilatory that the vizier could not be spoke with, and other put-offs. His excellency fell into an extreme passion against the dragomen, accusing and blaming them and vowing that if in two days time he had not a positive answer when his business should be done or where it stuck, that he would make new applications to the vizier by means of Mauro Cordato, a Greek dragoman to the Grand Signor's divan, or go in person himself to the kaia without them. This spirited the dragomen to press all that they could possibly, acquainting their friends of their condition; and, about three days after, they bring word to his lordship that, on Friday following his excellency should have audience of the vizier, and receive from his hands the new capitulations and letters to the king of England; which appeased all, and the treasurer, in consideration of the monies being refused, was ordered to prepare a handsome present to be given to the vizier at that time,

253. "Things standing thus, just on the conclusion, there arrives an express from Smyrna to his excellency with letters from the consul signed by the whole nation there, praying his excellency to protect them in their ancient rights and privileges against the innovations of Usine Aga, chief customer of Constantinople, who pretended to make them land and ship off all their goods at the scale of the new Custom-house, and no more at their own houses as they had done formerly; but his excellency did not, in this conjuncture, think fit so much as to take notice of his receipt of such a complaint.

254. "Friday now drawing near, Signor Antonio Perone, the second dragoman, the very day before, went to the kaia to see if the audience held for the next day as had been appointed; and, discoursing the kaia, he found the appointment stood good but that there was not any *hatte-sherif* (or Grand Signor's handwriting) upon the capitulations, as we always used to have; the kaia saying, the Venetians and French not having any, there was no need thereof. Whereunto the dragoman replied, that we having had one to our former capitulations, he knew well his excellency would be infinitely displeased not to have it now; but all the answer he could have was that it could not be.

Thereupon, without coming to my lord, he went immediately to the reis effendi urging the same to him ; who also said, that the vizier had declared there should be none, nor would he alter ; and when he pressed him to move the vizier again, he absolutely refused it, saying, he knew the vizier to be a man firm to his resolutions and not to be moved. Yet Signor Antonio, knowing the consequence of this matter, returned again to the kaia and pressed him so far, that he procured him to write to the vizier's *Muhurdar* (or privy seal-keeper), a favourite page, to move the vizier in it, from whom also, after some time, answer came that he neither durst nor would move the Grand Signor in it. On this, Signor Antonio ran and fetched the old capitulations, which had the hand-writing of this present Grand Signor upon it, and laid them before the kaia, telling him what an unreasonable thing it was that the new capitulations should want the force the old ones had ; for how could it be said that a lesser authority could enforce a greater ? After all which, the kaia was prevailed upon to write himself a memorial to the vizier, which he sent by him together with the old capitulations ; and not long after received an answer in writing. Whereupon he called the dragomen and told them that the business was done, and that he should salute the ambassador and tell him that he hoped to get it ready in a few days more, saying that he might say three to the ambassador, but he doubted not but in two to have it done.

255. "This transaction, when thus passed, was related to the ambassador. He was extremely angry, not only with the dragomen but the kaia and reis, that they had not sooner acquainted him with this difficulty, and now, after he was come to a period and the audience set for the very next day, to be put off without having any time fixed, was grievous to that degree, that his lordship was very sorry it was insisted on, but rather would have been content without it, thinking it enough that the French and Italians had it not. But it must needs have reflected much on his excellency's proceeding, to have come short of that his predecessors had obtained, and whereof we had swaggered and gloried so much.

256. "The dragomen are at their old trade of soliciting

for dispatch, and many days pass; sometimes they find the kaia argue against the necessity of having it but yet he told them it should be done and that, in order to it, the capitulations are in the hands of the vizier's *muhurdar*, to be presented to the grand signor with several other writings, as soon as *talkish*, or signing-time, should be made to the Grand Signor. Whereupon his excellency ordered a present of four vests to be made to the *muhurdar*, to make him mindful thereof; and the old capitulations being also taken to show the Grand Signor at his signing, to demonstrate the precedent; not long after, news was brought that the Grand Signor had signed them and that his excellency should be ready to come to audience of the vizier when he should be called to receive them, which was accordingly done not many days after; and Wednesday, the eighth of September, at three in the afternoon, appointed. When his excellency, going a little too soon, waited in the kaia's apartment till prayers were over; and, being called to the audience of the vizier, he received from his hands the capitulations with the Grand Signor's own letters to the King of England. This being performed, presents given and received, my lord returned with great joy.

257. "Thus ended our tedious attendance at Adrianople, which lasted near five months in the hottest season of the year; the town crowded by means of the feasts and the plague raging excessively, and though his lordship lived in the fields and tents yet, at last, it was got into his family and some died, which made our remove to be as hasty as was possible to make it."¹

258. I shall here insert some few memoirs, which will not fall apter in any other place. And first, that after our merchant had been at the head of such great managements at Constantinople, and understood the Turkish economy so well as he did, he was not without thoughts of making an English interest to have the authority of ambassador there, in the room of Sir John Finch. It was known, that his

¹ [In the original MS. I found the Italian letter inserted here; but, thinking it would less break the connexion of the story, I have put it by itself at the end of the book.]—Note by the author.

excellency was to be recalled, and another sent out, which proved to be the Lord Chandos. But in the interim, our merchant wrote to his best friend (not to the company, or to any Turkey merchant whatever) to let him know that such a thing was practicable, and, if it might with interest be obtained, he did not doubt but to do the nation better service than any before had ever done. But his brother Mr. Mountagu North enlarged and was exceedingly far gone with the project ; he raised many objections and then answered them ; as for instance, that one known to have been a merchant might be despised ; to which he answered that the Turks have no regard to quality but that of the commission ; with much more to the same intent. But the only effect it had with us, was to show that they knew as little of London and interest at court here, as we did of Constantinople and the Turkish court there. But this design never took wind, nor was known to any one upon the Exchange.

259. The Turks have a sacred regard to ambassadors, and will punish severely affronts done to any of them ; but they neither have any notion of nor will they be made to understand the difference between an envoy resident and ambassador ; and the Dutch resident there hath the same respect as any ambassador ; and when matters of precedence or the like occasion that difference to be spoke of to them, "What," say they, "has he not a commission ? have you more ? and is not all the rest nothing ?" The Spaniards neither have nor ever had an ambassador at the Porte ; which perhaps may be derived from their hatred to all Mahometans for the sake of the Moors ; and the Grand Signor pretends to a large territory in Africa and is owned though little obeyed there. Several petit monarchies send ambassadors occasionally and they are entertained as such, though their business be little else but selling of slaves. A Mingrelian ambassador came to Constantinople while our merchant was there : he had a great retinue of two hundred ; but sold them all one after another, and his secretary last ; after which his embassy was at an end and he returned home. The grand vizier, with whom ambassadors ordinarily treat, carries himself very stately with them and will not bear an affront to himself or govern-

ment; and however he provokes it is not safe to make a return or any invidious comparisons; so careful a thing is it to comport in his presence.

260. When our merchant went first up to Constantinople, the Lord Winchelsea¹ was our ambassador there. He was a jolly lord and extremely favoured by the good Vizier Cuperli, who advised him often to live after his way; that is, as a man of pleasure, merrily; and not trouble himself with business which, upon application by his dragomen, should be done to his hand; and having a goodly person and mustachios, with a world of talk, and that all (as his way was) of mighty wonders, the vizier delighted in his company. In this time, one John, a quaker, went on a sort of pilgrimage to Constantinople for converting the Great Turk; and the first scene of his action was standing up in a corner of a street and preaching to the people. They stared at him, and concluding him out of his wits he was taken and carried to the mad-house; there he lay six months. At last some of the keepers heard him speak the word English, and told it so as it came to the ambassador's ear that he had a subject in the mad-house; his lordship sent and had him to his house. The fellow stood before the ambassador with a ragged dirty hat on, and would not put it off though he was so charged and admonished; thereupon the ambassador ordered him down and had him drubbed upon the feet, after the Turkish manner; then he was any thing and would do any thing; and afterwards did own that that drubbing had had a great effect upon his spirit. Upon searching him, there was found in his pouch, among a few beans, a letter to the Grand Signor, very long and canting; but the substance was, to let him know that he was the scourge in God's hand with which he chastised the wicked Christians; and now their wickedness was so great that God by the Spirit had sent him, to let him know that he must come forthwith to scourge them. He was sent for England, but got off by the way and came up a second time to Constantinople; from whence he was more surely con-

¹ Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople in July, 1660. He continued to reside there for nine years.

veyed ; and some that knew John, told Sir Dudley North they had seen him on the Exchange where he recognized the admirable virtue of Turkish drubbing.

261. Having attended our merchant from his cradle, through all his voyages and adventures, to the height of his prosperity in Turkey, which I plant upon his conduct of this great affair of the audience ; I now find myself in as much haste to bring him back to a better settlement in England, as he was desirous to compass that agreeable remove. But in regard that, after his return to Constantinople, he spent divers years in order to bring it about ; in which time he very much increased his fortunes ; and divers incidents of no small consequence happened to him ; and his conversation here hath furnished us with many remarks and some pleasantries about his affairs, and about the temper of the Turkish nation, I have thought fit, before I bring him home, to insert here what remains to be related of Turkish matters.

262. It was not without a native sagacity, adapted to the occasion, and also a long series of attention to the way of dealing, language, and conversation with the Turks and others upon the place, that he acquired those great abilities he had in managing whatever he undertook ; and particularly this expedition ; which, considering the Italic caution of the ambassador and selfishness of the knight,¹ lay almost wholly upon his shoulders : and more especially the gaining the point of the *hattesherif*, which was of more moment than all the rest or than the ambassador foresaw. And it appears how he managed and drove on the dragomen ; and, disapproving some of the ambassador's purposes, diverted them : all the while behaving himself with entire submission to his lordship ; and neither in the action nor in the relation (such was the decorum of his modesty) appropriates any value to himself.

263. In this time the case had been furiously changed upon the merchants, from mild and just viziers, as were the two Cuperlis father and son, to the most ravenous and unjust government of Cara Mustapha. By this, the merchants were tied up to their affairs and had not liberty to

¹ Cf. § 150.

expatriate in frolics and adventures as they had done formerly. They needed not to give handles against themselves, the vizier was ready enough to take them ; and for fail (rather than not eat their money) make them. I have heard the merchant say, that the Turks do not bear that which we call curiosity ; and are apt to beat a man that pretends to it. They look upon those idlenesses and impertinencies (as at best they account them) with a sinister eye ; and always suspect mischief at the bottom though they do not discern it. But when the vizier showed no inclination to oppress the Christians they, depending on his good humour, launched farther in curiosity ; as will appear by what follows.

264. Our merchant had then residing with him a virtuoso who was a good mathematician and draughtsman ; and they together concerted a design of making an exact plan of the city of Constantinople and carried it on till it came very near being completed. They took the liberty of measuring in the street a distance between two stations, which were two of their mosque towers, from which their priests cry to prayers ; and, with a theodolite, they took certain angles at the corners of streets. And, in order to find the position and distances of all the towers and remarkable places, they went up the two towers which they had chose and made their stations ; and there, with the same instrument, marked the angles of each view by the bearings of every one of those places and set off the same, upon a large paper, by lines ; and then the proper intersections gave the true position of them all in just proportion, according as the practice of such method is commonly directed. And then they fell to mapping the streets, partly by the guidance of those views, and partly by other observations. But this work lying a little neglected, it hath so happened that as well the proof papers as the map itself were all taken away ; and the merchant hath much lamented the loss but never could recover them. And I have heard since that the chief of them are in England, and kept as great curiosities by Dr. Covel, master of Christ's Coll. in Cambridge. Perhaps, since the first taking of Constantinople by the Turks to this very day, there hath not been a conjuncture in which unbelievers or Gowers (as they call

them) might publicly execute such a design as this was; especially trenching upon the holy places, the mosque towers, which, to the Turks, is an abomination; and, perhaps, until they are driven out (which God send) there will not be such another.

265. Our merchant was a builder himself; and no foreigner ever looked more strictly into the manner of the Turkish buildings than he had done. But he could not give Sir Christopher Wren satisfaction about covering their vaults with lead. For, when he had the covering of the great dome of St. Paul's in deliberation he was pleased to inquire of that matter. The merchant informed him so far as to assure him the Turks never laid lead upon wood, but upon loam or mere clay only: but how they fastened it he could not tell. Sir Christopher was not satisfied that the lead would hang upon loam and not slip without some fastening; wherein lay the whole difficulty: for if it was done with iron nails or spikes, the iron would rust and lose its hold. It is not impossible but lead dressed home upon loam, may hang by a sort of union as the weight and friction together might make. But, as I said, the architect would scarce venture what was not absolutely secure in a place so exposed; and caused the shell to be boarded, and plates of lead to be let in and nailed to the board, and the sheets to be a little opened and then soldered to those plates; and so it hangs. Our merchant told us, that the ordinary covering of porticoes were half-sweep vaults, which stood like mole-hills in a row; and that all public buildings whatever were covered with vaults and leaded upon loam. And that lead lasted two thousand years; when upon wood it would be corrupted into white lead in half the time. It is hard to say why our plumbers should not, for so great an advantage, make the experiment of house-lead upon loam. The merchant told us, that the very metal of lead that had hung so anciently upon loam was worth much more money than new lead. So much was it purified by the weather and no white lead ever found under it; as upon oak, which eats the sheets of lead to paper in a few years; and what remains of the metal is not so much improved.

266. The merchant told us, that the common housing of

the Turks in Constantinople was of timber, which is brought down from the Black Sea and comes from Georgia, Mingrelia &c. in vast floats. Upon which floats the men travel and, to help forward, put up a little mast and sail; and that the float might keep itself in due poise and not sink in one place more than another, they take goat-skins (tight as for wine) which must not exhale; and these, blown full and ligatured, are put under the corners that appear most to sink; and so, by making it more buoyant there, keep the float always level. The builders buy these trees for their scantlings and never split a tree for house-work; every piece put in being a whole tree, and those only adzed so as to lie close, and then made fast, not with pins of wood or by mortising by tenons but with iron spikes only. And this makes fires, to which this wooden city is very obnoxious, spread exceedingly; for these houses cannot fall till the material is consumed to ashes; but hang together like bird-cages. The force of men, with hooks and crows, cannot readily bring them under. At fires (by the way) men are not permitted to help even at their own houses; but all the people (that crowd about so much with us for mischief rather than for help) are driven off; and officers and janizaries take possession of the street, of which they close and secure both ends. This sort of building retrenches the number of tools; and a carpenter useth none but what sticks in his girdle, an adze with a hammer on the reverse, a saw, and a level. The saw works by drawing to, and not by thrusting from; and so the teeth are filed contrary to ours. The level performs all ordinary distances at one operation; it is only a triangle with two hooks and a plummet, applied to the middle of a cord strained from one place to another.

267. There are also houses built with brick laid in loam; but they are mostly sun-dried. They become hard as stones; but if wet comes upon them they decay very fast. Kiln or fire-dried bricks, laid in lime, make a sure wall and are used in the best houses and vaults. But the Turks are so far from affecting fine houses, that they strive to make them look humble and poor; which is to avoid envy and the injuries that ordinarily, in these places, attend it. If a man should build a fine house of strong material,

others will say, “What! do you intend to live for ever?” If it be pompous it will be concluded they have cheated the government, though with less reason perhaps than if the like were inferred in England, Spain, or France. But, within doors, a wealthy man ventures to adorn richly, as their ceilings &c. with a variegated colouring, not imagery, but wild, as Turkey carpets. There is scarce in any of the great cities such a thing as an antique fabric for private use; but their houses are always decaying and rebuilding. And in the villages it is worse; for they contrive all they can not to be seen at all, that travellers may not come down upon them from the hills; as, if they see a town, they will do in great parties and spoil their goods; and, for that reason, they make their doors just big enough for a man to creep in at, lest travellers make stables of them. So that the face of the empire, as to the habitations of the common people, is very wretched; there being nothing of that kind standing but mosques and *canes* (or inns), works of religion and charity. But the ruins of very ancient structures are observable every where; as pieces of old walls and arches, which may have lain open to the sun and weather above fifteen hundred years; and the brick and mortar as hard as stone itself.

268. Over-against our merchant’s house in Pera, opposite to Constantinople, there was a small convent of (literally) mendicant friars. They were reduced to three only that lived there; and despicable fellows they were. They lived in a perpetual contention; and, for the most part, concluded the work of the day in fighting. The main stress lay between two that were strong and lusty. The third was a poor old man that got him to bed before the last act; and so he escaped the scowering. The others were asked how he came to retire in good time and not they. The answer was, “That he was a very old man, and, with his pittance of wine, got drunk sooner than they could do, and so must needs go to his cell to sleep.” The merchants of this factory used to be very kind (charitable it was called) to this convent; and the friars were often admitted into the house and to eat and drink there, and to carry pots of wine and meat home with them, and now and then a little money. But it happened in our mer-

chant's time, that one of these friars, being in the house, overheard a discourse concerning the French ambassador which had like to have made a great splutter; and it was found out that the discovery was made by this friar. From that time they were shut out from all entrance there.

269. The friars were exceedingly troubled for this loss, and used all the means they could to retrieve it by getting a pardon and re-admission; but in vain. Once one of them ventured to the door of the counting-house and there stood while the merchants were writing, and begged a pot of wine. No, nothing; he must be gone. At last he condescended to accept of a poor *asper*. Our merchant's brother asked, if it were not better for an *asper* to get rid of him. "No," said our merchant, "here is a trial of skill, whether this fellow or I have most impudence. If he gets the better, I am his slave. If it once comes to that, I should be sorry any man living should outbrazen me, or that his impudence should command my easiness." After this they were never troubled with any of them about the house any more, but what broken meat they had was sent over to them. It was our merchant's constant way, as unreasonable people grew impudent, to grow more positive and, upon that foot, soon rout them. But to civil people none more humane, obliging and good-natured than he was, and very loth to refuse any gratification he could afford to others until provoked by being urged in an imperative way; and then the refusal came powdering from him by wholesale.

270. I have many instances of his good-nature. One, and not the least, was this. When he resided at Constantinople and was the principal merchant and treasurer there, he had always a tender respect for the youth of the factory newly sent out and unexperienced in the dealing of that city: which was a practice altogether different from the practice of the elder merchants; for they too often banter young men, tie up their heads, as they call it, and make advantage to themselves by their want of skill and dexterity in business, and then make sport with them. He knew these ways: and as he always escaped the ill influence of them when he was young; so, in his advanced post, he was so far from imposing upon the young men that he encouraged, instructed, advised and, in their business,

assisted them. He considered human frailties, and more especially the inability of youth to stand among sharpers ; and that they were trusted by others, and therefore it was but common justice to assist them : and the rather, because of the consequence, which might be fatal to them ; for if the principals found their factors incompetent, they were for ever ruined. And sometimes other merchants have expostulated with him, saying, “ Why will you do this ? Do you not see that you act against your own and our interest ? If they are made to hold off selling shall not we sell the better ? ” His answer was, “ Pugh ! what need you concern yourself ? There is enough for them and us too if we mind our business ; ” or to that effect, and no more.

271. There was another instance wherein he showed a world of tenderness and good-nature. His brother,¹ that came over to him from Aleppo and was settled in the house, fell ill of the plague. I saw letters from him that gave the first account of it ; and I do not know that I ever heard or read more sensible expressions of grief than he used. It troubled him to the heart that he should be a means of bringing him to that city and thereby be, though innocently, a cause of his death. He did not pass his time idly, but (griefs apart) laid about him to provide all possible means that could be contrived, had, or procured for his preservation. He put him into a good place, and had four plague-nurses (for divers in that city are so professed) the most skilful of the Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, to attend him. He lay four days in the rage of the fever without any crisis or sensible sleep, and without any physic or any thing else coming between his lips, except lemons ; and of those they gave him one after another continually, so that he might never be without one in his hand to suck. It seems that acid is a specific against the venom of the plague ; for, by the price of lemons in that city, they can tell if the plague rages or not : for if they are cheap the city is less visited ; and, if dear the disease is more frequent. And, as these nurses affirmed, which I am apt to think is true, if he had taken any cordials or juleps whatsoever, other than these lemons, he had died.

¹ Mountagu North.

272. During the uncertain state of his brother's dangerous sickness, the merchant, walking out to divert his melancholy, saw a fellow making a grave and went towards him to observe his working. He had not looked upon him long before the fellow turned and, looking up at him, asked how the *hasnadar's*, or treasurer's brother did; on whose account, it seems, he hoped to have another like employ. One may imagine what an offensive shock this was to the merchant, and how it dashed all the spirits he had within him. It sent him home with a resolution to come no more near such ominous fellows. But it pleased God that his brother recovered and, surviving him, had the happiness of an opportunity to make a grateful return for all these cares of him, as, after his death, he performed by his perpetual superintendence of his family and remains in England. It is not unfit to remember here, that this Mr. Mountagu North, having recovered of the plague, for want of advice or care to physic himself stoutly after it, was not clear of the venom but lived in a very ill state of health some years after. Perhaps if his sore, that appeared in his arm, had broke and so discharged the malignant humour he had been better. But that had been another risk for his life; for they say there are two fatal crises, one of the disease and another of the sore: for if that breaks, there is imminent danger the part should gangrene and never heal. But it happened that, at Smyrna, this gentleman, in his return for England, was almost laid up of a languid indisposition. But at length, in the place where the sore had been which had dispersed, there arose a sort of push like what boys sometimes have. It had a black head and was so angry, that looking upon it almost hurt it. This proceeded till it broke and a black core came out as big as a small nutmeg; and then it healed. It is certain that these secret operations of nature, striving against all its enemies, are little less than miracles; and the most learned can give a satisfactory reason for the latter, in any of the celebrated instances, as easily as for the former.

273. Our merchant hath often discoursed of the Jews at Constantinople, what a convenience they were to them in the transaction of their business, and also of the wonderful

condition of their living there, with other concerns of that obstinate people. They are very numerous and very poor. Some there may be accounted rich, if the very hard taxes, imposed and paid for maintaining the poor, did not almost reduce them to the same pass. For at least one-tenth of their income goes of course that way ; and moreover their beggarly Jews extort from them great sums, which they demand as charity, saying, " You are bound to relieve the poor. I am poor ; give me my relief." It is a proverb, that Jews beg *con baston in mano*, that is, with a stick in their hand : and in good earnest the rich men are forced to comply, and part with a great deal upon such kind of compulsion. The Jewish people there have an economy and order of their members, by governing (as they pretend) according to the Mosaic law. And they are allowed by the Turkish indulgence so to do in all points, but that of death, the power of which they allow to no foreign nation ; but in cases of death, they must be judged by the Turkish and not by the Jewish or any other law in the world. This puts the Jews to a great stress, when offences by the law of Moses require death and the Turkish law will not (for that reason) adjudge them. And it hath been known that, to expedite their execution with safety, they have sent into the Turkish court two false witnesses of their own tribe (which will pass against Jews) who have falsely sworn upon the offender a crime of death by the Turkish law, and had sentence accordingly ; pursuant to which their unlucky brother was cut off. To show what reason the Christians have to trust these Jews, I may add that, by their common principle, lying and perjury against all that are not Jews, are not only lawful but commendable. And to lose anything from their public, for either truth or justice, is a very great fault. This makes all dealing with them very nice and cautious ; for all trust, even with the best of them, is desperate ; and the common sort, who are miscreantly poor, are the most faithless wretches upon earth and withal most abject and impudent in the turn of a hair.

274. I have heard our merchant say, that he found it impossible to tell to any of them a sum of money out of a bag and they not finger some of it, and so bring it to fall short ; and that traps have been laid, by attestation pre-

pared, to make the discovery ; and one of their house hath turned a bag out to them with charge to mind only the fellow's fingers, and could not discern the least action towards a legerdemain ; and yet the money hath been short. Now, would not one wonder that a society should, not only deal with but take into a sort of employ, and it may be in some respect trust these men, and use them as necessary to their trade, which Turks, Christians, and (in particular) the English do, and could not well do otherwise or carry on business without them !

275. When a fresh merchant or factor comes to Constantinople, the first Jew that catches a word with him marks him for his own as becoming his peculiar property, and calls him his merchant ; and so he must be as long as he stays. And, from this time no other Jew will interpose to deprive him of his purchase but as soon rob a house as do it. And thus, by compact or custom among themselves, this sacred rule of right is established. On the other side, the merchant can no more shake off his Jew than his skin. He sticks like a bur and, whether well used or ill used, will be at every turn in with him ; and no remedy. Somewhat the rogue will get out of him in spite of his teeth, and commonly (besides pay) just so much more as he is trusted with. And the merchant cannot be without a Jew nor change that he hath. The only expedient is to make the best of him, and never trust him upon honour. It is not a little convenience that is had by these appropriated Jews ; for they serve in the quality of universal brokers, as well for small as great things. Their trade is running up and down and through the city, like so many of Job's devils, perpetually busking after one thing or other according as they are employed. If the merchant wants any thing, be it never so inconsiderable, let him tell his Jew of it and, if it be above ground, he will find it. This is accounted a common advantage ; for there are multitudes of people that have need of each other and want means to come together ; which office the Jews perform admirably. And in like manner they apply to the great men at court, calling themselves his merchant at whose house or gate they wait expecting employment. For, when any thing is wanted, the Jew is spoke to and he, with wonderful dis-

patch, procures it: and they have great profit by these trusts, which they account as the vails of their places.

276. The Turks are the most superstitious of all people, and have an opinion of fascination by ill eyes; and the merchant had once like to have suffered on that account: for, being at the sports mentioned in his letter to the Italian, he observed a rope-dancer come down from a tower and thought by his minute watch to know in how many seconds he passed to his place; and, as he stood counting three, four, five &c. the rope broke. This disappointment troubled the Turks that stood thick, gaping up; and some wondering how such an accident should happen, one said he believed that fellow was the cause of it; for he saw him hold somewhat in his hand and mutter over it. The merchant, hearing this, crept away as fast as he could; for if the mob had fallen upon him for an enchanter, he had passed his time but very indifferently amongst them.

277. It was one of his observations, that Turks, Jews, and Christians have the same vulgar superstitions; as about fairies, goblins, &c. As for the plague, they verily believe that destroying angels are sent forth and go about with banners; one hath a red one, and the other a white one; and, as these angels strike the people they fall down and either die or recover. And in time of raging pestilence there are men who will affirm they actually saw these angels; and as true as the Romans of old attested that they saw their emperors rise out of the fire, which was called the apotheosis; after which they were enrolled among their gods. And now, among the modern Romans, their canonization of saints, whereby they become adorable intercessors, is a fraud nearly of the same species.

278. But all these different professors of religion have a firm faith in what they call *reading over*; and they use it promiscuously. For, if a common Turk hath a horse sick, he will have the Alcoran read over it, and, rather than fail, the Law of Moses or the Gospel of Christ. And there are poor Christians that will get a holy man, though a Turk, to read over a sick child; and the poor Jews the like. It is the *reading over* that they value, together with the venerable phiz of the holy man that performs, without much distinction what it is he reads. Once the lord am-

bassador went to an audience of the vizier, with the nation attending ; and he, being no horseman, used to be carried in a chair. That appeared to the Turks as a vile effeminity, and they detested it as unbecoming a man, who ought to govern himself upon his horse and not to be carried like a child in a cradle. As they went, an old Turkish woman, thinking the man in the chair was sick, asked our merchant whither they were carrying that poor sick man ; and he, turning to her, answered, "To be read over ;" "God bless you," said she, "you are good men, and that is a very good thing :" and so they went on. When this was told among the merchants, it was a very good jest to every one ; but the ambassador himself could not easily digest it.

279. The Turks have an opinion, that men that are buried have a sort of life in their graves. If any man makes affidavit before a judge that he heard a noise in a man's grave, he is by order dug up and chopped all to pieces. The merchants, once airing on horseback, had (as usual for protection) a janizary with them. Passing by the burying-place of the Jews, it happened that an old Jew sat by a sepulchre. The janizary rode up to him, and rated him for stinking the world a second time, and commanded him to get into his grave again.

280. Our merchant was always shy of disputing with the Turks ; for if they but catch, coming out of a Gower's mouth, certain words, as for instance, "God is one God and Mahomet is his prophet," on what account soever it is, be it only historical, in jest or in earnest, they will compel him to be a circumcised Turk or kill him. But the poor old man, the effendi that wrote for them, was forced to bear their attacks ; for he was good-conditioned and would bear any importunity from them that paid him well. A true Turk but ignorant ; and at worst he was but one witness and could not accuse. Their chief opposition to him lay in asking him hard questions, to be resolved by the tenets of his religion ; and then the simplicity of his answers was subject of merriment to them. As for instance, "how the devils engendered, since it did not appear that there was any distinction of sexes among them ?" The old man did, out of good authority, allow that they in-

creased, but could give them no better account than that “they made use of their own tails *in culo*, and so begat devils upon themselves.”

281. It is a common practice in all places where men of different persuasions in religion dwell and converse together, for the prevailing persuasion to use all the means they can, either by courtships or by threats, to tempt others over to their party. And the Turks are as busy at that sport as any people can be; but it is by way of persuasion and encouragement rather than by constraint. But the Roman Catholic powers do it by punishment and very little (where they have authority) by persuasion. The Turks proffer liberty to all religions that keep within bounds; but will endure no insult upon their own. The Papists, by principle, tolerate none and also guard their own by suppressing controversy and miserably tormenting those that dissent or differ from them. The Turks give all the kindest invitations, that can be, to Christians to renegue and become Turks: but, when that is done, they have no manner of value for them; for they suppose it done, not out of sincerity, but perfidiousness; yet, in regard their posterity will be true Turks, they think their tempting policy worth the while to practise. Our merchant often told us how he had been most importunely pressed by men in power to become Turk; and, knowing the danger of such conversation, he used never to enter into any comparisons or arguments whatever. But yet, considering that he was obliged by the company of such men of account as ate and drank with him, and that it would be taken as ill manners and morosity to say nothing at all; he used to say, that “his father wore a hat, and left the hat to him, and he wears it because his father left it, and (clapping his hand on his head) declared he would wear it as long as he lived;” and others of a meaner sort he hath put off by saying, that “he was bred to drink wine and eat hog, and intended to do so still.” And, when he spoke of returning into his own country, scarce any Turk that knew him believed that he ever intended it; for as they thought, one who so well understood the felicity and glory of that country could never leave it. And some, in the form of friendship, have said, “Why, Gower, are you mad? Can you be so sense-

less as to leave this place?" And the like; which he put off in like manner as before; and saying that "he would die and be buried with his forefathers."

282. The holy men called dervises, that in Turkey profess mortification, choose to ride upon asses, horses being a noble animal for worldly potentates to ride on; and they cannot bear to see Gowlers so mounted, but will come and pull them off their horses if they can. Once, at Smyrna, the nation were abroad on horseback well mounted, and spied a parcel of dervises, coming in the road, mounted, as their way was, upon asses. The merchants expected to be affronted by them; and, says one, "Let us ride through them;" and all with one consent, set spurs and rode over this troop of holy men and asses, beating them down here and there as they happened to scatter. When they were got up the enemy was flown; and they went away and made no complaints: and, it is likely they did not know who those Gowlers were; else it might have made an avania.

283. The Turks retain the old Asiatic way of expressing themselves by figures, and have divers moral parables amongst them. That such was anciently the mode of expression in that part of the world, we have Æsop to show; many of whose fables have been translated out of, or into, Arabic. And the ancient prophecies, as well as the style of the holy scriptures, demonstrate the same. So little reason had the church of Rome to construe literally that passage, "This is my body." As for the common Turks, it will be enough to give an instance or two, communicated occasionally in discourse by our merchant: and to say truth, he himself conversed so much with the people there of all degrees that his style and manner of expression was tinctured accordingly. They use the words, "wrote on his forehead," for all necessities that happen to a man, which we call fate. It is commonly known that the Turks are fatalists.

284. Our merchant was acquainted with a grave honest Turk who lived in a house with one slave; and when his slave died he bought another; and in a time of plague he lost four or five; which brought him very low. And no wonder; for he always laid his fresh slave in that very place where the former died, without any dressing or pre-

paration at all. The merchant often advised him to dress his lodging with vinegar and fire, as the use is, before he put another there. "Oh no," said he, "that signifies nothing; it is wrote on his forehead." At last he advised him to take three lemons, two sound and one rotten one, and lay them so as one of the sound ones should touch the rotten one and the other not, and see which lemon rotted first. He did so, and was convinced by the effect; after which he dressed his room and his next slave lived.

285. There is a proverb, "The world is a tail and happy is he that gets hold on 't;" which alludes to some shipwreck at passing a river, where the hold of an horse's tail certainly saves a man. They tell, that a wise old man begged a boon of a grand signor; and he bade him begone, "The world was a tail," &c. He thought the experiment was to be tried and ordered his slave to sell him in the market for a Russ slave; but to one that looked grave and wise, with a long beard and a bosom full of papers. This was done, and he was sent down to a vineyard to work with other Russes there: and so he did for divers months. At last, from speaking Russian he fell to speak Turkish and repeat the Alcoran, and declared that Mahomet appeared to him and enabled him. The master being informed of this miracle, sent for him and found it was so, and that he read the Alcoran well. He had immediately his liberty, and was visited and courted by presents from divers people. At last the grand signor heard of it and would needs see him; and when he was brought, "How?" said the grand signor, "do not I know you?" "Sir," said the Turk, "for God's sake let me alone; I have got hold of the tail."

286. Mentioning slaves, puts me in mind of a mortifying reflection our merchant used to make of the unaccountable difference that happens in the (at best) miserable state of those that fall under the calamity to be bought and sold as such. Some shall come from the same country taken at the same time, and be bought by a cruel fellow that will send him to the mines, there to be flead with hard labour and so to live and die in torment. Another shall be sold to a good-natured man that shall make but an ordinary domestic of him; and, behaving himself well,

he shall be used as a child and at length married to his patron's daughter. And all this immane difference without any sensible merit or demerit in either, and void of all possibility, by any foresight, prudence or behaviour, to prevent, alleviate or determine. But, in the city, as our merchant hath told us, a slave hath some degree of justice against the ill usage of a patron ; for he may allege contrariety of tempers whereby they cannot well live together ; and the judge will decree that the patron shall carry his slave to market and sell him. But it must be a bad master indeed that will cause a slave to affect a change which is very probable to be worse for him. The wealthy men in the Turkish dominions have a great accomodation by slaves bought at market, as we do cattle : for, if a man wants a slave of any pretension, as strength to labour, comeliness for a waiter, smith, weaver or other faculty (to say nothing of a concubine or so) he finds one out, and buys him ; and if he be not useful as expected, his patron carries him out and sells him and tries for another. And it is seldom or ever that these prove refractory or impertinent ; for the correction falls so sharp and thick upon them that they cannot mistake their interest. Our merchant was served in his house only by slaves, and all the cookery was done by such ; which shows a strange trust on that side of the globe, beyond what is in India where, if the slaves, being natives, were cooks they would certainly poison the whole family. He brought a slave home with him, at his return into England, whom he called *Shatein*, which signifies hawk, because the fellow had a quick eye like a hawk ; but his nature did not belie his country, which was Georgia. This slave he gave to his mother, and she used him as a servant. He was a Christian, but knew it by nothing but a few fasts that he kept. He was superstitious as well as amorous ; for a maid-servant, provoked by his leering at her, laid a fresh rabbit-skin cross his face ; which was such a pollution that he ran straight to the pump, and they thought that he would never have done washing. He found such liberty in the family, that he thought he might fairly run home to his own country ; and, accordingly, took to his heels ; and being found in a wood half-starved, and able to say nothing intelligible but " North great mer-

chant," he was brought home to the lady's house. But his patron, perceiving that he was of no use here, sent him a little nearer home where he might be kept or sold as the factory thought fit. He had another slave that was a Polacco, whom he caused also to be brought into England, and then sent to Poland, with his liberty and about eighty pounds he had got in the service. This was to reward his incomparable diligence and fidelity while he served. The merchant once lost a jewel of value and could not find it by what means. He suspected this fellow, and to the last in his private sentiment believed he stole it; but having no evidence to justify the accusing of him, and it being possible that some other person stole it, he was so just as to let his private suspicion go for nothing. Thus much concerning slaves in Turkey I thought fit to insert all together in this place.

287. I proceed to mention another parable, and so conclude these observations. A Grand Signor caused his vizier's arm to be cut off, and proclaimed that the arm should be thrown up, and whoever caught it falling should succeed in the vizier's place; but upon terms to be served the same sauce at a year's end. When the crowd was come together to catch this arm, one man more diligent and dexterous than the rest caught it. So he was vizier; and, at the year's end, his right arm was cut off and thrown up as before, and he himself with his left arm caught it again; and after his second year his left arm was cut off and thrown up and he caught it with his mouth. This is to show what men will suffer to gain a pre-eminence over others. The Turks live under arbitrary government; but then most of them, though subject to some, are superior to others; and have such an itch after tyrannizing, that none would accept of liberty and security by laws, upon terms to quit his power of tyrannizing over others, in his turn at least, as it may happen. And to say truth, few people among us clamour against arbitrary government with any other view than, by that means, to gain power which they may exercise arbitrarily over others. And our merchant returning into England fell into the heat of this rage, which flamed round but did not hurt him, as will be displayed in the sequel.

288. He told us a passage which, in Turkey, was related

not as an analogue but as true. A clamorous Turk had a stale pretence against a man which he had prosecuted without effect. Upon the advancement of Cuperli the good vizier, he applied to him, alleging that he had sought for justice before divers viziers one after another and had been denied ; but now his viziership was in that place, " He did not doubt but he should obtain justice from so great and good a man as he was." The vizier rising up, " You dog," said he, " do you think I come to mend the world ? Was it not a cuckoldly world from the beginning ; and shall it not be so still ? You say that so many viziers did you wrong ; and do you expect that I should do you right ? chick." This story, setting aside the Turkish huff, has a good moral, which is that when causes have had the ill luck to miscarry divers times, it is better to let them drop wholly than to revive stale pretences only because a little better title is showed ; for *ut sit finis litium*, or, " that there may be an end of quarrelling," hath more of justice than that old law-sentence that " right never dies." For if that were true, one might safely say no man living hath a title to his estate.

289. Our merchant that always courted mechanic arts, seldom overlooked auy that were put in practice where he resided ; especially if aught appeared ingenious or out of the common way in them. Some particulars I remember he hath spoke of ; and one was a device for turning up water, wherein a man useth the strength of his whole body hands and feet alternately ; whereas, by the common use of a winch and crank, a man applies only his arms, and those not with equal advantage of force in all the whole turn. In this device, upon the axis of the roller there are four bars so adjusted that a man sitting on his rump, and applying hands and feet alternately, the hands one after another drawing, and the feet one after another crowding, the bars succeed in convenient reach and, being forced, fall into place for the foot to take that which the nearest hand lets go ; and so, one hand and one foot straining together and taking turns, great weights may be easily raised and, at least, one man do the work of two.

290. He hath often spoke of the admirable use they make of what they call *jezzo* ; which is a fluid mortar, such

as we make with burnt alabaster. They make projectile shells of brick which hang to a wall over the fire-hearth. And it is done only by fixing the bricks edgewise first to the wall and then edge to edge ; and the cementing is done by wetting a little of the powder in water with which they dab each brick ; and so, hand-holding them a little together, they are fast ; for the jezzo sets, as they call it, immediately. By this means they make the shell overhang into the room above a yard ; and it has no other support than the strength of the jezzo and the plastering over it.

291. They frame all their glass in jezzo ; and the way is to use clay upon a board in rolls laid about, to answer the pieces of glass however figured : and as the shapes are made, the glass is so laid that the edges overhang the clay and yet do not touch any other glass. Then the like rolls of clay are laid upon the glass just over the other ; in which manner there is made a channel that takes hold of the rim of every piece of glass ; for the edges of all the glass fall in that channel. Then another board is brought over and pressed upon the whole ; and so the channels are perfectly closed. This done, the jezzo is poured in at the top and runs round about and all over in those channels, and the liquor embracing every piece of glass is every where continued. This stands full till it is dry, and (as it becomes hard as a stone) they part the boards and take away the clay ; and the glass is held fast by a frame of jezzo and is stronger than one would imagine it to be. But one thing is to be remembered, which is that the glass is not placed near the line of the wall without, but within the house ; whereby it is not so much exposed to weather as ours is ; for probably, if it were more exposed this jezzo frame would decay.

292. In Turkey diving is a trade and, as it were, incorporated and, as other trades, hath its master who judgeth the divers according to certain regulations. And here I may observe a conformity of authority that will take place in all regions and countries. With us it is a mixture, as king and parliament ; so lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens ; master and wardens ; governor and directors of companies. There it is the Grand Signor alone, his substitute the vizier, the bashas, cadis, governors of trades, caravan

bashas, &c. which have no adjunct to the single governor. So he of the divers is a governor of the whole faculty : and better justice is to be had before him, against any of the trade, than is to be expected here from a confederacy, as will appear by a short story which concludes this paragraph. But these divers will do wonders. All the brick made for the use of building, is taken by divers from the bottom of the sea, and being put in baskets, they rise with them upon their heads, and throw the clay into a lighter and go down for more ; and so they work all the day long. These are the men that take up coral, sponge, and shell-fish from the rocks ; and it is said their education is so strict, that a diver cannot marry till he can stay a certain time under water. As to the justice of their governor, our merchant told us, that once a man, coming over from Pera, near the key at Constantinople, dropped a purse of money, which is about one hundred pounds. Thereupon they sent for a diver, and he went down, and busked about a long time, and then came up and said there was no such thing, They were so sure of the place where the money was dropped that they believed they had got a rogue of a diver, and immediately sent for the master, or governor, of the divers. He came with a retinue of divers and sat him down upon the quay, and heard testimony in form, as if he had been a judge. Then he commands two of his choice attendants to go down and bring up the money. They went, and found that the other fellow had taken it from its place and hid it behind a timber that belonged to the quay. The master took his *premio*, gave the merchant his money and, for justice and example, laid down the roguish diver, and had him drubbed before their faces ; and so he went away in the same state as he came.

293. The merchant used to speak of the extravagant manufacture of tobacco pipes. They consist of hollowed wood, in lengths neatly turned and let into one another, and, withal, curiously painted over, and set off with rings of divers colours. And all this is done in the street by a fellow that buckles his limbs in such a particular manner, that he makes a turning-lathe of himself. But in a word ; he contrives, with his feet, knees, &c. to hold his material so firm, and commodious for his purpose, as is wonderful

to observe. A man may bespeak a pipe, and see it made before his face; and thereby have a better entertainment than smoke and stink for his money.

294. They have a clever way to catch sea-fish. Four posts are set square, and made fast in the sea; and a square net is let down by pulleys from the heads of these posts; so that, by drawing one cord, all the four corners shall rise together. This not lying close to the bottom of the sea, the fish are not afraid of it; but swim over in large shoals; and the man upon the seat may easily discern them. Then, as he gives the signal, those in the boat hale as quick as they can; and so all the bolt ropes of the net rise above the water, and all the fish are safe in the hollow of the net. Then the boat comes and, clawing by the net, they draw the boat about and take in all the fish. I might, to these, add more of the like nature; but I fear too many would be fastidious.

295. As to the true knowledge of the Turkish government and policy, with the genius or true reason of their proceedings; or, in a word, the true state of their empire, our merchant used to say, it was very hard to come at it, even by those that lived and dealt amongst them; of whom very few came away with much of it. And, that which he gathered, was owing to the advantages he had by the language; for that gave him an opportunity to converse with all degrees of the inhabitants, and to pick up what they were pleased to drop of their schemes. He had also a large sphere of transaction with the great men of the law and the court, not without uncommon familiarities, and friendships with divers of them: and, to all this may be added a furious curiosity in himself, not without some penetration and aptitude, to discern and apply what fell in his way, losing nothing that might be instructive to him. He said the very dragomen or interpreters they used, were ignorant of it; and he could scarce ever rely upon their skill; but was forced to use his own wits, and when he had need to be nicely instructed, then, if possible, to get information from some learned Turks. And he said farther, that the book of Sir Paul Rycaut, of the religion and manners of the Turks, was very superficial, and, in multitudes of instances, erroneous. And that once he, with the assistance

of some friends, went over that book, and noted in the margin the faults, with their corrections: but the book, with other curiosities of his own gathering and procuring, was purloined from him. He said, the Turks are very shy and incommunicative; and many of them think that Gowers, or unbelievers, are unworthy of the knowledge of their sublime state, and will not be brought to discourse freely of it; as the subjects of most Christian countries are pleased to do, when they gratify strangers that are inquisitive. And one may guess how hard it is for English merchants to know Turkey, if we reflect what strange notions those Asiatics have of the English state, that come and live here, and, according to the measure of their inquisitiveness, may be informed. How can it be otherwise then, as we find, that such strange notions and mistakes of Turkey pass vulgarly amongst us?

296. Whether our merchant brought away with him any projection of the inward seraglio or not, his writings may show. But it is certain that he gained a just profile of the outside of it; being a view of the whole, as it appeared from one of his windows at Pera, over against the Serrail point. It was done with a pen, between him and a virtuoso that lived with him, on like occasion as I mentioned before. It expressed every lodging, pleasure-house, roof, window, garden, tree, and whatsoever of it appeared to their view, in exact proportion. And I have heard him say, that he could make affidavit to the truth of every particular expressed in it; there being nothing added, or omitted, for setting off, or on any other account whatsoever. It was almost entirely finished; only some of the remote parts, and not much, wanted hatching. After he came into England, he had a fancy to have a picture made after this draught; and he instructed a good landscape painter in the colouring, &c. who hath made a very decent piece of it; and that, with the original, is now in the hands of his son. Whether this gentleman was a singular virtuoso, as well as merchant, or not, the rest of his life will make appear.

297. I am now drawing up close to another great crisis of this gentleman's life; which is his return for England. And it will be observed, that I have here scarce made a

man, but somewhat more, of him ; for where are his faults, without which no man lives ? I cannot say I have concealed any that I knew ; and having little or no information of him but from himself, I may not find out, what no man is apt to discover of himself, his unjustifiable actions. But if I may be so free, as to give my thoughts of his morals, I must allow that, as to all the mercantile arts and stratagems of trade which could be used to get money from those he dealt with, I believe he was no niggard ; but as for falsities, such as by cheating by weights or measures, or any thing that was knavish, treacherous, or perfidious, even with Jews or Turks, he was as clear as any man living, but transacted and dealt, in all respects, as a merchant of honour. As to debauchery, I have enough cleared him in what hath been said. But as to women, while he was in Turkey (barring the excess) I mean such loosenes and escapes, as almost all men there are more or less guilty of, I cannot altogether wipe him clean. For I have heard him speak of a lodging he took, in the house of a Greek upon the Hellespont, for *spasso*, as they call their diversions ; and, though he did not expressly declare it, I guessed that *spasso* to have been *spassa*, of the feminine gender. But he knew the country so well as not to be guilty of great excesses in that or any kind ; for they are very dangerous.

298. He mentioned a spy-hole he had, from his room, into the house of another Greek who had a female slave that brought a child ; and that little infant was kept without any kind of clothes or covering more than is provided for a puppy dog ; and it had a kennel under the stairs, and straw to lie upon. When the servant was free, she went and suckled and cleaned it ; but what was chiefly remarkable was this. It had a going upon all four, exactly like a monkey, and trotted, and then galloped, or walked ; and so it would come up to the table when the master was at dinner, and sit upright, holding up the paws, begging for somewhat to eat ; and what was gixen it it ate as a dog doth ; and sometimes it had a box on the ear and, as a dog, was bid begone ; and then it galloped away to its kennel again. It was a mortifying reflection, to consider how little this animal differed from a common brute. Here is all I can say or think evil of my subject ; but, after his

departure for England, I have nothing, but what is strictly virtuous, to relate of him. Therefore beforehand I must desire that other may not be expected from me.

299. Against the time that general ships arrived from England, upon the return of which our merchant intended to embark, he employed his time in preparatories. He was resolved not to leave his affairs behind him in disorder. He considered that, although he left his own brother upon the spot,¹ whose care and application would be no less than his own, yet his experience, and, it may be, penetration in business, was not equal to his own. Besides, he desired to leave him engaged in as little brigue and trouble as was possible, that he might go on in the management of the factory with courage and satisfaction. And he was so far at ease that, if he left any thing which had been better brought away, it would fall into his hands whom he loved almost as himself, and withal took care to leave him in full plenty and well provided of all things fitting for him. He made a new set of books, which contained a transcript of those of the ragion in which he had any particular concern; and those he balanced to the time of his coming away. He chose, for his ship, that of which Captain Cook was commander, who was a good-conditioned man and agreeable company.

300. The first launch was down to Smyrna, and there he went ashore; how long he stayed, and what merriment was made, is not much material. After leaves taken in due manner and form, they sailed, and touched at Tunis, which is in the bay where old Carthage stood. They went ashore there, and were entertained by the consul resident. The shallowness of the bay of Tunis is very strange; for there was scarce water to keep their boats afloat; and very often, upon touching, the seamen skipped overboard and heaved the boat off. One would think so large a sea should, in time, sand or silt up. The viewing that place, and being informed of the state of the Turkish government, and the powers there, must needs be agreeable to him. It appears he was so full of it, that he thought fit to discharge his memorials upon paper; as I find by the following account of his penning.

¹ The Hon. Mountagu Nirth.

VOYAGE FROM SMYRNA, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF TUNIS, CONTAINING MATTERS LITTLE KNOWN IN EUROPE, BY SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

301. "*Smyrna, March 27, 1680.* We departed from the town by the ship's boats, which had then lain a full week at the castles, where all the day was spent in feasting and taking leave of our friends. Towards night we all set sail ; but, the wind being fresh out of the sea, by our short tacks to get out we made but little or no advantage. So we came to an anchor again at night and lay all next day, which was Sunday. Our Smyrna friends had left us the day before ; so we went and dined aboard the Massingbird and, after dinner, walked on shore to the hot waters, some two miles or better from the castle. It was a pleasant walk, being all even or else an undiscernable ascent.

302. "The hot springs are several ; over one of which, in past ages, hath been a considerable building, as may be seen by its ruins ; but now there remains one vault, where there is a cistern, into which both hot and cold water runs, to make it fit for people to endure ; the which is sometimes used by the people of the adjacent villages. Near this there runs a considerable brook ; in the skirts of which two springs of hot water rise up near one another ; the one too hot to be endured, the other more temperate. They lie so near the brook, within its verge, that, on the least increase of water, they are overflowed.

303. "Next day betimes, our fleet got under sail, the wind being N.W. so that we turned it out of the Cape ; which all did not compass till midnight, when we bore away before it and had the weather fair and favourable till we came past Malta, in sight of the island of Pantalaria, where strong west winds came up ; against which we lay with difficulty enough for a long time, and to our no small vexation, having, for about eight days continually, the island in our sight. This made us reflect on a story that goes of another island hard by, called Lampadoza, which they say is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted building, or church ; on one side whereof, there is an altar for the Christians, and, on another place, for the devotions of the Turks ; and so it is by all esteemed holy. In this

building, they say, are always found most things necessary for seafaring men; clothes of all sorts, cordage, biscuit, &c. and a treasury of all sorts of money, though in no great quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, to serve their occasions with what they find and need; but they must be sure to leave in value somewhat else that may be equally needful on other occasions, be it money or goods; which if they perform not, it is said they can never sail from the island, but will stand still in the sea, be the wind never so fresh. For this reason, it is said that, whenever any vessels or gallies of Corso, come here, who are full of lawless needy rogues, they, that command in chief, have care to send some principal man, to see that nothing be embezzled by any of their company, for fear of being punished by the winds, &c. The stories of this place made some merriment amongst us, taxing one another, as if, at least in former voyages, we had taken somewhat sacred, for which we endured this crossness of weather.

304. "But in fine, be it how it will, we are freed by a fair gale which, in little time, put us about ten leagues westward of Cape Bon; when, as if it had done its business, it turned about again with such fury that our whole fleet bore up for the bay of Tunis and arrived before the Goletta the fifteenth of April. We lay there all night, not thinking it safe to venture ourselves ashore in a place where had been so great confusion, till we could hear from thence. On the morrow our consul, Mr. Francis Baker, and Mr. Barrington, came off to us in one of their town-boats. After we had dined, they invited the captains and passengers to go ashore with them, all things having been peaceable for a long time; and accordingly, some that night and some next morning, we went ashore; so that we were, at one time, above seventy English in Tunis from the ships.

305. "All the Frank nations live in a building, built by the government on purpose for them, distinguished into three houses, one for the English, one for the French, and one for the Jews of Italy. It is a good, commodious, and very substantial building, and for which they pay but a moderate rent. The English house is again subdivided into three several houses, or tenements; only two of which are made use of; the upper part by the consul, and that

next by Mr. Barrington and several English merchants; the undermost standing void. Under all these are large, fair magazines, all arched; so that they fear neither fire nor thieves.

306. "The buildings of Tunis are all very substantial, the country affording stone and not timber. All their roofs are terrassed, and the bottoms of the rooms tiled with small squares, black and white, which look not ill. Their manner of building is, generally, to have few or no out-lights, but all inwards to a square court, which is bigger or less according to the largeness of the house. In great houses they build their rooms very stately and high; but their rooms are generally small and very long, and some of them narrow; by which means, though dark, they are very cool, which must be their great end and aim in the buildings of this hot country. They use store of marble in their buildings; though they have none but what is fetched from Genoa and other parts of Christendom.

307. "The supreme government of this place consists in three persons; viz. the Grand Signor's basha; the dey or chief of the soldiery, that commands the castle and lives in it; and the bey or general, who leads out the soldiers twice a year to gather in the tribute from the Moors. When the government was more regular, all these met together in divan or town-house, and, with the ancients of the soldiery, consulted of the affairs of their state, and made peace or war. The government, taking it as it ought to be, differs nothing from the rest of the Grand Signor's frontier provinces or bashalics. But this, being so far removed from his power, did never long continue in due obedience; but they that first usurped were the soldiery, who soon cast off the basha's authority and put it into the hands of themselves. The chief of them governing the great castle, and disposing of all things as they pleased; and, he also being to be succeeded by the ancientest of his fellows, helped by most voices of his soldiers, it soon came to be a popular government of the soldiery, who often took occasion to make way for themselves by cutting off their leaders.

308. "They kept the basha still as a cypher in the government, and still employed him in the payment of the soldiers, letting him get something also for himself, and

wherewith to feed them at Constantinople. And he, contenting himself with this, lived well, and the Grand Signor was not offended. They always acknowledged to hold the place as from him, and from time to time sent their presents.

309. "The great cause of their late evils hath been from the too great power of their beys or generals, who, having grown vastly rich and got that government into their families, have now, for a long time, swallowed up the authority of the divan and made them little better than their servants ; as they are at this day, serving them in their civil wars more like servants than masters. In former years, the divan set the said office to sale every six months to such as would give most for it. And then they accompanied, and what was got in more was the general's, and what it came to less, he must find ; for the divan would not want of that they had bargained to have.

310. "Not many years since, a vessel was taken going from Corsica to Naples ; wherein was one slave so fortunate in the service of his patron, then bey, that under him turning Turk, he obtained his liberty and served for many years in the camp as second ; and sometimes was trusted by his patron and sent out, as his deputy, alone by himself. In this manner he got great riches, wherewith he served himself in an opportunity to outbid his master, bidding more than he was able to give ; and so he became bey himself. In which place he not only continued during his life, but he left it to his son who, notwithstanding he came young to it, yet continued it also with great authority all his lifetime, and left it peaceably to his children. The father, that came from Corsica, was called Morat Basha ; his son Sulliman Bey, who had made his interest mighty strong by alliances of himself and his children with the great families of the Moors, amongst whom there is great esteem for their ancient houses ; a thing not known among the Turks, except in their royal Ottoman family.

311. "At the death of this Sulliman Bey, were left two sons, Morat and Haftsa ; to Morat he left the beylic, and to Haftsa he assigned certain lands and left him potent in the city ; the customs and most of the gallies and shipping belonging to him. In this manner these two brothers shared

all the riches and command of that kingdom for many years, creating whom they pleased Dey, or governor of the soldiers. Morat, little regarding the Grand Signor's basha, and going continually with the camp, cultivates his interest by all means of authority and alliance with the Moors. He matched his two sons, Ali and Mahmet, with their best and most potent families, intending to divide things between his sons, as his father had done.

312. " And in order to leave them in quiet possession and peace, he, in his lifetime, makes Mahmet, his eldest son, bey, and sends him out with the camp ; in possession of which he was when Morat died : so that the youngest son, Ali, was, as it were, left unprovided for and at the discretion of an elder brother and uncle. This uncle, though he had lived in great riches and ease all the time of his brother Morat, yet now aspires to the command himself. And this he knew not better to effect, than to make differences between the brothers Mahmet and Ali, putting Ali on pretensions to an equality with his brother Mahmet ; and to command the camp by turns, one to go with the summer and the other with the winter camp. And they not agreeing in that manner (as how could it be thought they should ?) the uncle Haftsa so works with the Turks of the castle and town, that it was soon thought needful for the state to create him bey over them both ; which beylic he pretended to take upon him, only as an expedient for the peace of the kingdom, till things could be equally divided between the brethren.

313. " All he did was in favour of Ali, whom he protected against his brother Mahmet ; and Ali, not being able to deal with his brother, gave place to his uncle at least for the present. Mahmet, finding things go thus, immediately, with what Turks he could join with him, flies up into the country to his Moorish relations, raising a great force with which he takes in some of the out-castles and makes down to Tunis with a power that Haftsa was not able to resist. Nor would the Turks in the town stick by him at all ; but immediately declared for the son of Morat ; and that they would know nothing of Haftsa. But now, they said, he would embroil their country with wars between him and his nephews ; and, to prevent that, they threatened him with banishment and afterwards pronounced it.

314. "But Haftsa was so wise as to retire to Tripoli before the storm, or before his nephew Mahmet returned to the city; at which time he knew how it would fare with him.

315. "When Mahmet was peaceably established in the beylic of Tunis, his brother Ali carried himself so well as to act nothing violently against him, but let him live in quiet and concerned not himself in the government, giving possession of all the lands and country that had been assigned Haftsa by their father for his maintenance; and would have done the like with all the fine houses and gardens, &c. of Haftsa now in Tripoli; but those Mahmet refused to meddle withal.

316. "Haftsa now in Tripoli, seeing no good to be done there, having great riches with him, transports himself for Constantinople; where he, by great expense, procures the Grand Signor's command for the bashalic, which was now void by the death of Usaph Basha, and writes to his nephew Mahmet, that he would content himself with that. But Mahmet not trusting him, and fearing also his brother Ali whom he knew secretly to affect Haftsa, let fall words, as if he never should have peace till he had cut him off. This being carried to Ali, he provides for his own safety by a speedy flight to Algier, where he meets with but slow promises of assistance to recover his patrimony. But in the end, finding himself deluded and his money to consume, he betakes himself to his father-in-law, a Moor of a potent family, by whose means he gets together a considerable army, which makes his brother Mahmet begin to look about him.

317. "Haftsa, in the mean time, comes from Constantinople, with some hundreds of soldiers he called Janizaries, to take possession of the bashalic; but was some few days too soon; Mahmet being in the field fighting his brother: and his deputies in the city kept him out not suffering him to land. Thereupon he returned back to Turkey; for he could not prevail with his Turks to wait upon the coast, to hear the success of the forces of the two brothers. It seems they found themselves already deceived; being all along told that they should be joyfully received by the people at Haftsa's arrival; and they would be no longer

abused, but made him sail to the Morea, which in great measure was his ruin. For Achmet Basha, the Vizier Azem who had taken his money and invested him with the bashalic, was dead, and Cara Mustapha Basha succeeded. He, hearing that the country of Tunis had refused Haftsa and that he was returned to Navarrin, and being desirous to make his market also of him, and at least to get his predecessor's gleanings, immediately sends and brings him to Constantinople, where he, to his great regret, receives dispatch on dispatch to come for Tunis ; of which city and whole territory his nephew Ali was possessed not above three days after he had sailed from thence for the Morea. But now he was in the pound, and Cara Mustapha would not part with him but kept him there a great while, and first permitted him to send one ship away to fetch money, all his first treasure being consumed ; which ship also was slow in coming back. At last, with much ado, he gets away and comes to Tunis, is received as basha though not so kindly used by his nephew Ali as he expected ; for his long absence had worn off some of the former kindness. And Ali, having now established himself, and so long subsisted without him, cares the less for him, and, possibly, would rather have had his room than his company ; as appeared by several slightings of him and not giving him possession of his ancient patrimony, in which Ali was instated by his brother Mahmet at Haftsa's first flight to Tripoli. All which Haftsa sees he must now be contented with and submit to.

318. "Mahmet, all this while, holds himself strong in his castle of Kef, some few days journey from Tunis ; to which place he had carried great treasure, and whither the discontented of the Turks, that Ali had by his cruelty disengaged, and several of the fickle Moors, daily resort ; so that with them and his wife's kindred, again he takes the field. He had considerable advantages against his brother, who now again was forced to retire up into the country, and presently marches to the city. And they, making some face of resistance, yet, on the first summons, let him in ; and all Ali's friends retired to the great castle and fortified themselves there. Mahmet lays close siege for about two and twenty days ; but, not being able to

reduce it in that time, he found it needful to retire, to encounter his brother, who was coming upon him with a great force of Turks and Moors. And those he was well nigh overcoming by a stratagem ; for when Mahmet was come into Tunis, all the government, that were friends to Ali, retired into the castle. Mahmet, not being able to take them, would, at least, create new ones in their steads ; and, out of the Turks that were with him, he makes over again all the officers of the divan, as much as if he had taken the castle, and cut them all off. Now, going to meet his brother with his camp in this manner, he sends some of his Turks to his brother's camp, to inform the Turks there, that he was possessed of the castle of Tunis, and had cut off all his enemies ; and that now all the power and government of the Turks was with him ; asking, why they would fight against their brethren, &c. Whereupon all the Turks, in Ali's camp, immediately leave him and join Mahmet ; which had been his ruin, had he not forthwith set upon them with his Moors ; which he did so suddenly and so violently that he cut off many of them, and routed all the rest ; his brother Mahmet, with but a few, escaping to his castle of Kef. So that Ali comes with triumph to Tunis, rewarding his Turks who had so faithfully kept the great castle for him."

319. This concludes imperfect ; but I guess it was intended to have been continued through the voyage home. What else happened to him of moment must be supplied by what I have gathered from his own discourse. His condition in the ship was much improved beyond that of his embarkment for Archangel. Then he was a raw novice or mere underling ; and neither master, mate, nor mariner would deign to afford him any participation of the sailing account, as he very much desired. But here he was lord paramount, commanded his captain and did what he pleased. He was in at all the observations and accounts of the ship's way, journal-keeping, chart, and the pricking of the ship's place. He found, as he said formerly, that the captains perform all this work mechanically by the help of tables, out of which they extract all their sums : and for doing it they have a rule ; but act without any notion or idea of the truth of that which they are at

work upon. If a man tells a sailor that, if he steers directly N.E., he shall at length find himself in the pole, he will not apprehend it; but rather despise the ignorance of him that proposes such an affront to his chart. But (matters of skill apart) it is certain that, between reckoning and guess-work, they do wonderfully direct a ship from one part of the world to another; and for the means it is with them to determine, whether they can make themselves understood therein or not. In this voyage, the chief care of the merchant was to find himself employment to pass his time which, upon the sea, was always fastidious to him. He had the rest of the fleet to observe, and the characters of the several vessels to comment upon, some windwardly, some not stay well, some slugs, some sail hard upon a wind, and fall off at large, with the reasons and the humours of the winds in the Mediterranean. These served to divert the time till they arrived at Alicant in Spain.

320. In that port our merchant, and some of his company, went ashore and chose to travel over land to Cadiz, rather than sail round by Gibraltar. In this journey by land, which was over great mountains, they had no better carriage than a slight cart or two. The passage was very delightful to the merchant, who loved extremely to see new places and such spacious views as he had from those Spanish hills. But the lodging, little better than in the open air, was their greatest mortification. One evening they came to a little barn upon a hill, and promised themselves a good night's sleep there. But the driver was observed to be very busy in making his bed under his cart. One of them asked him, why he would not lodge in the barn; he answered, because he would not be eaten alive; that is, by the *cimici*, which are of the sort of, but much worse than, our London bugs. This was a seasonable item. The merchant and his crew made also their beds in the carts; and so rested as well as they might. He told us of vast herds of great beasts that he saw upon the hills and about the country; which was a great surprise to him, because he had heard what a beggarly country of flesh Spain is. These herds, as they were told, belonged to some of the grandees of the country.

321. Our merchant was not ill qualified to travel in this country, and to converse in the great trading towns; for he spoke Giffoot very fluently, which is a corrupt Spanish. But because the Jews write it in Hebrew characters (which he also could do) it is called Giffoot, or the language which the Jews speak; so, having this dialect at command, he was his own interpreter. I suppose they did not stay long at Cadiz; for, as soon as the ships were come about, they went aboard and pursued their voyage. And now the want of diversion began to press more than before; and they contrived divers amusements to supply it. The seas, in that voyage, being very deep, they fell to trying experiments by letting down bottles into the sea. They had the *dipsy* (or deep-sea) line at their command; and with this they let down an empty Florence flask well stopped, and found that, at one hundred fathom, or less, the flask constantly broke. Then they let down a common glass bottle tightly stopped, and in no depth could they find it would break; but, somewhat beyond the former depth, they found the cork always thrust into the bottle; and, giving depth enough, this event never failed. These experiments demonstrate the weight of fluids as of other bodies according to quantity, which is gauged by the perpendicular.

322. With these, and many other such amusements, they contrived to pass the tedious time at sea, till they came in sight of dear England; and then *look-out* was the word. The merchant had entertainment enough in observing the coast, and, coming into the river, his heart was full; and he no sooner landed but he got information where his best brother lived and, embarking in another sort of vessel, a hackney coach, steered directly thither. His brother was then lord chief justice of the common pleas; and his lady was dead; so, he not affecting to be altogether alone, it fell to my share to be almost constantly with him. The merchant came to his lordship's house at about eight in the morning, when we were in bed. The house-keeper had been formerly his lordship's laundress at the temple, and knew well her master's brother so early as when he was at the writing-school. She was a phthisical old woman, and could scarce crawl up stairs once a day.

This gentleman appearing with his mustachios, according to the Turkish manner, *Cordubee* hat and strange out-of-the-way clothes, just as if one had been dressed up to act Captain Dangerfield in the play, she stood staring at him ; and he, knowing her, called her by her name. By that she knew that it was her Master Dudley, and flew up stairs to tell the news, as if she had been a girl of sixteen ; so forthwith he was conducted up to us. These particulars are mentioned to show what spirits sudden joy will inspire.

323. It is to no purpose to describe the circumstances of this congress. It will readily be conceived to have been sufficiently happy. After a quarter of an hour's conversation, we sent him to a chamber to refresh, whilst we got up ; and coming together again, it was pleasant to observe his figure ; so bizarre was his face and dress. His first demand was a tailor, a tailor. The tailor came, but could not finish his office in civilizing a *barbare* under two days ; and all that time he wore his Dangerfield habit and beard. It was pleasant to see him manage his mustachios ; for, being apt to trespass upon the mouth, they were always, by an action, habitually put before drinking one way and the other. But yet the beard would have a share out of the glass, and was made clean again by another habitual action of sipping the upper lip. This garb may seem very monstrous to us here ; but, in the Levant cities, clothes are not more necessary than a beard to one that writes man. After a certain age nothing is to be taken from the upper lip ; but, underneath, all is shaven clean away ; and more than that is infamous. But now the western usages must govern.

324. With the tailor came the barber, who, like Time with his scythe, mowed down this fertile crop. And the merchant himself could not but be surprised to see his own face in a glass, after the mustachios were departed ; and, turning away his head, laughed at himself. Such power hath custom over men's sentiments and opinions ; for he could not help being ashamed of his face. It was a considerable time before this upper lip, having been long shaded from the sun, took the same tawn as the rest of his face ; but, looking white and pale, made a strange

disfigurement. And it was matter of ridicule to see him always, before drinking, act with his fingers to part away his (then) no beard ; and, when he had done, to sip his upper lip, although the mop to be cleaned, was gone. In the course of action habitual, reason and reflection stand by. A stronger power is in possession and must be removed, not by assault, but, if at all, by a long siege. The greatest part of what we act in our lives, is more machinery than the effect of either will or reason.

325. His father, the Lord North, had then been dead for some years ; but his mother was alive, who had nursed him in the plague, and had been immeasurably fond of him ; and not without violence to her affection and out of respect to his good, had parted with him to go into all the hazards of a supercargo merchant. I may say she was revived by the news of his arrival and more by a sight of him ; for, as soon as he was accoutred, he took a journey down into Suffolk to pay his duty to her. After a decent time spent with her, he returned to London where he had large concerns to superintend. He continued for some time to lodge with us at his best brother's house. Where, according to his former usage, when any great alteration of his condition or circumstances happened, his working mind, about ordering his affairs in a fit posture for his future management of them, would not let him sleep all the night. It was the custom, at first, for his brother, who generally rose before seven, to go into the merchant's chamber and there finish his dressing. And he always found him awake and complaining he had not slept. But, upon his leaving him, he slept soundly till ten or eleven ; whereby he lost his morning which he could not endure. He perceived that this want of timely sleeping grew to be a very great inconvenience. This made him resolve to take his old course and make a thorough cure at once. Accordingly he resolved, whatever became of him, sleep or not sleep, to rise when his brother rose, and so to secure his mornings to better purposes than droning abed. He took this course, and declared that, for four nights together, he was not sensible that he had slept at all ; but, on the fifth night, he slept with a full gale till morning, without any waking at all. This, as was noted, shows that men

may conquer any inconveniences that grow by custom, if they are not wanting to themselves in courage and resolution. And it is certain, that want of timely sleep, if not obstructed by some disease, may be cured by a pertinacity in watching; for nature will have the rest she needs and, in a state of health, will secure it against all the noises and disturbances whatsoever, as may be observed by the deep sleep of poor seamen, who are (as they call it) over-watched.

326. It fell out that, just at our entrance upou the western circuit, news came that the good Lady North was dead,¹ and had made me her sole executor. We had, at that time, the misfortune of an elder brother's importunity,² who was not contented that any of our common concerns should pass quietly and smooth; and he, being heir at law, might enter; after which, the management of the personal estate would be very difficult. Wherefore, to prevent great inconveniences, since it was not in my power to attend in person to dispatch the goods forthwith out of the house, as was thought necessary to be done, I entreated him to go down and finish that work for me. He most willingly undertook it; and, after his arrival, he there first showed what an agent of dispatch he was: for, in little more than a week after the funeral, he had cleared the premises of all the goods except a few which were left for the heir to have his option to take if he pleased; being what could not be removed without prejudice to him. He was so obliging to declare we must, in a time, take all that belonged to us and, after that, he would permit nothing to be removed. This made the merchant ply his time. One difficulty he had which was to get out the brewing-vessels; for the doors were too little for them to pass; and he could engage none of the family to saw out a threshold to make way, for that was a trespass to the freehold. But he and his footboy went to work, and cut it out, and the vessels were rolled into an old moat, and from thence carried away. He had an aching tooth, as they say, at the mill-stones of a water-mill; but the learned told him, those were part of

¹ She was buried at Kirtling, 15th Feb., 168⁹.

² Charles, 5th Lord North.

the freehold: otherwise he made no account but, as a true factor, to accomplish his business according to his rule and trust to perfection.

327. He wrought every day in person, taking down, sorting, disposing, and contriving packs, which he did according to art and beyond the skill, I had almost said the pains, of a porter. The neighbours, as the custom is on such occasions, for curiosity came to see what was doing; he little minded them but went on with his business. They were in admiration at his personal industry and art in employing others. Before he had quite finished his work the heir at law made a descent upon him; and then, litigating was added to labour. And this happening when the beds, all but one reserved for his use whilst he stayed, were sent away, the litigants were forced to lie together in that one bed at night. After we came together, and he gave us the history of his pains-taking, among other grievances, one was that, after scolding all day, his brother and he were forced to lie together all night. I told him in merriment, that was the least thing of a thousand, for most men and their wives did it continually. But as to the business itself, he gave me books in which were registered, not only the accounts to a farthing, but every bundle and parcel by marks, or letters, with the contents in each particularized to a trifle, and where they were sent or disposed: so that, notwithstanding the hurry of moving and sending things away to several places, I had a digest of the whole, and could go to the place, parcel, drawer, &c. to find any thing I had a mind to. This I remember as a piece of justice; being all I can return for so singular an act of friendship: and let that which I think enough excuse the seeming small import of this memoir.

328. In London he found that his business, which was very considerable, made it needful for him to have warehouses and to converse near the Exchange and in a mercantile way, that so he might readily carry persons to see his goods; which could not be done whilst he lived and conversed most at the other end of the town. Whereupon he took a lodging, together with some other bachelor merchants, in a house that was kept by a gentlewoman of good value and appearance, the widow of a merchant deceased;

and there they had their diet also, at a certain price : and I am persuaded any one of them might have been master of the house, whenever he pleased. But, although they did not differ upon that point or anything else, he, who had been so long *padron di casa*, or the governor of a ragion, was weary of that boyish course of life, and resolved by the first opportunity to take a house and live after his own way. At length, he found a good convenient house in Basinghall-street, with a coach-gate into the yard, next to that which Sir Jeremy Sambrook used ; and there he settled. He had the opportunity of a good housekeeper that had been his mother's woman ; though some thought her too fine for a single man, as he was, and might give scandal and occasion his habitation being called *Bussing-hall*-street. But when he that had a command of himself did what he thought reasonable, he always slighted what people at a distance said of it. Here he found himself master of all that belonged to himself, and could have the pleasure of returning the civilities of his friends by entertaining them as he pleased.

329. Living in this way, he applied himself wholly to business and did not dream of any thing to happen that might divert him. He found divers usages in London very different from what had been practised in his time there, or in any other place where he had lived : as, first, touching their running cash, which, by almost all sorts of merchants, was slid into goldsmith's hands ; and they themselves paid and received only by bills ; as if all their dealings were *in banco*.¹ He counted this a foolish, lazy method and obnoxious to great accidents ; and he never could bring himself wholly to comply with it. For, having taken an

¹ The merchants of London were, at one period, accustomed to deposit their superfluous cash, for safe custody, in the Mint ; where £200,000 was seized by Charles I. "The Mint had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders." (*Temple's Miscellanies*.) Soon after this period, it became usual for the merchants to deposit their cash in the hands of the goldsmiths, who thus became bankers. See "*The Mystery of the new-fashioned Goldsmiths, or Bankers, discovered*," 1676 ; cited in *Anderson on Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 533. Sir Josiah Child, in his *Discourse on Trade*, has expressed an opinion as to the bankers, similar to that of Sir Dudley North.

apprentice, one Fairclough, the son of a Presbyterian old usurer, he paid and received all by his cash-keeper in his own counting house, as merchants used to do. But, at length, he was prevailed on to use Benjamin Hinton, a Lombard-street man ; and, for acting therein against his conscience, was punished with the loss of about fifty pounds. But others lost great sums by this man ; and his breaking made a great shake upon the Exchange. I remember, he hath come home (for, at first, he was, as I said, with us) in great amazement at his own greatness ; for the banking goldsmiths came to him upon the Exchange, with low obeisances, “hoping for the honour”—“should be proud to serve him,” and the like ; and all for nothing but to have the keeping of his cash. This pressing made him the more averse to that practice ; and, when his acquaintance asked him where he kept his cash, he said, “At home ; where should he keep it ?” They wondered at him, as one that did not know his own interest. But, in the latter end of his time, when he had left the city and dealt more in trusts and mortgages than in merchandize, he saw a better bottom, and used the shop of Sir Francis Child, at Temple-bar, for the paying and receiving all his great sums.

330. I should here mention another thing that much surprised him ; which was the clipped money. He observed, and wondered that it was current ; and he could not be persuaded but that he took so much less for his goods as the money wanted of weight. But I have so much to remember upon this head, that, having reserved a place express for it, no more is said here ; but I proceed next to mention the want of a convenience in London, which was admirably supplied in Constantinople ; and that was the *Besastein*. This is a place like the Exchange, built of stone and very strong ; it was proof against fire as well as against thieves. There, goods of all kinds were taken in for safe custody, and delivered out again upon payment of a very small *premio*. The manner of disposition in it is much like that of the king’s warehouse at the Custom-house ; where is an order and servants whereby any thing taken in may readily be found, and brought forth. In the upper part, there was a perpetual outcry or

sale of goods, not, as here, in a sort of office, till all is dispatched, but by men running about from one place to another and crying the price. There a man may go for his diversion and, sitting down, observe; for instance, a scimitar: "So much bid for this; who bids more?" You may look on it; and, if you say any thing more, away runs the fellow, and cries it; and, if he finds no more bid, he brings it to you and it is yours for your money. And so, for almost every kind of thing that any man desires or uses, it is odds but he is accommodated. While our merchant was a young beginner in London, he wanted many things and he believed they were easy to be procured; but those that wanted him, could not find him any more than he them. Then he complained of his want of the Constantinople Jews, that, in such cases, brought buyers and sellers together: but of them before.

331. Another thing, new to him in London, was the coffee-houses. There were scarce any when he was last before in England; and, for certain, none at all when he first went out.¹ At Constantinople they had coffee, but no coffee-houses; for those were not suffered; it having been found the people, by a tendency to sedition, made an ill use of them. In Constantinople, the coffee with a furnace and utensils is carried about the street upon a man's breast, as they do baskets of wares; and, if any one hath a mind to a dish of coffee, he calls the coffee-man, (one or other of them, like our porters, being commonly within hearing) and sits him down and drinks it. If one would gratify the workmen in a shop, there is no such thing as asking them to drink; they will answer, "They are not adry;" but they will be very thankful for a dish of coffee; and then the coffee-man is called. Nay, there are men so charitable as, by a vow, to spend their lives in carrying water about, which they offer to all people; and those that are hot and dry accept their courtesy. This shows that, in those hot countries, the gift of a cup of cold water was not so despicable as it is thought to have been.

332. But, to repair to London again, from whence we were slipped back. Our merchant, finding the great trad-

¹ Cf. i. § 226, n.

ing companies in credit and himself a stranger to that sort of dealing, and that most of his friends and acquaintance were concerned in one or other of them, thought fit to buy stock in the Royal African Company,¹ to such a value as might qualify him to be of the committee for direction of the trade; and, accordingly, he was chosen. He applied himself to attend and manage as he thought became him, and he was bound to do. By this he had two advantages; one was, the being let into the knowledge of trade in companies, and of this in particular; the other was, making himself known and what his abilities in the management of all sorts of business were. And here it was that, in the opinion of the Exchange, he first did justice to his character. For he was sagacious to take the substance of any matter, at the first opening; and then, having by proper questions more fully informed himself, could clearly unfold the difficulty, with all its circumstances of advantage and disadvantage, to the understanding of others. He was an exquisite judge of adventures and the value and eligibility of them. He was very quick at discerning the fraud or sincerity of many persons the Company had trusted; as also the characters of those that proffered and were examined, in order to be employed or trusted. If he once found that any person was false and had cheated the Company, he was ever after inflexible; and no solicitation or means whatsoever, could prevail with him to cover or connive; but he laid them open as broad as the day. It is often found that men, in a public trust, will give way to favour; and, for poverty, presents, or solicitation, indulge and intercede for what they would not bear in their own private concerns. But, as to matter of future trust, no means could take our merchant off a knave's skirts, if ever in public or private concerns he had once found him out.

333. This positive conduct of his, however in itself commendable, had like to have cost him his life. Upon an examination at the African house, a captain of a ship was convicted of having defrauded the Company most

¹ Established in the year 1672; the fourth and last exclusive company of merchants trading to Africa. The trade became open in 1689.

grossly ; and, indeed, it was by our merchant's acuteness and skill that the discovery was made. Afterwards, this captain having softened divers of the committee, made his applications for another trust. Our merchant adhered to his conviction, and would by no means consent to his being employed again. He thought that, in such a managery, there was so much of trust that of necessity they must be, more or less, cheated ; and all the means that could possibly be used would not prevent it. Therefore, where cheats are once found out, to pass them by or connive encourages frauds ; and they will have no reason to expect honest dealing : for men are not honest by principle but by interest and fear that relates to it ; and it were all one as to throw up and surrender the Company's effects to be embezzled by those that are trusted with them. Upon this, against the inclination of some of the committee, the order was, that the captain should be held to account and not be farther employed ; for, upon such a staring detection as had been made none could persist in his favour. But, after the committee was up and the gentlemen moving about the room, one went out and told the captain whom he might thank. Thereupon the captain enters the room with his sword drawn, and went directly towards Mr. North, who stood talking with some at the upper end of the room, with a direct intent to stab him. But, as he came near, one of the merchants, perceiving his sword, struck it down ; and so he missed his purpose. Mr. North broke his cane upon the fellow's head ; which was all the satisfaction he had for so dangerous an assault ; for he would not be persuaded to prosecute the man to make him an example.

334. The Lord Chief Justice North, finding his brother falling thus pell-mell into affairs of trade ; and perceiving, by his conversation, that he had an uncommon penetration and capacity both in general and particular direction of matters to be transacted by the application of many heads and hands, thought sincerely that he should do his majesty a signal piece of service in recommending him to some post, of which, in the revenue business, there were not a few that needed such an one as he was : and if, withal, he did good to his brother, his integrity and service

to the king his master was never the less. Accordingly, he took an opportunity to speak of him to my Lord Rochester (then at the head of the Treasury), and told him, that he had a brother, lately arrived from Turkey, who understood trade and the marine perfectly well; and, he believed it would be for his majesty's service if his lordship thought fit to recommend him to any employment in the Customs, or where such a person might be useful; and that, really, he believed that no man in England was so well qualified to serve the king as his brother was. But his lordship so little thought there could be an impartial man in the world, that, for answer, he only smiled; which was as much as to say, that he thought my lord chief justice came to palm his brother upon him. By this it appeared, that the Lord Rochester did not understand men. But his mind altered afterwards; of which more is said in the life of the same chief justice.

335. But, now we are drawing near to the public, I must remember what a reverend opinion of Oates and his accomplices our merchant brought over with him. It was the method of all the fautors of the plot which bore his name along with it, whether for malice or ignorance, but more especially the former, to cram down all indifferent people's throats a belief of it. Those that lived in the time must needs see the credit it had, I mean with indifferent people, was more through artifice, or rather force, than right reason. And, according to this scheme, the London merchants, and particularly those trading to the Levant, being generally among the fautors, belaboured all their factors with their accounts of the most horrid conspiracy, &c. discovered by that instrument of Providence, Oates. That the same plot was still carrying on and they were not come to the bottom of it yet; but they hoped, by the next conveyance, they should send them this same bottom of the plot. Those who had relations or friends abroad and had other sentiments of the matter, did not, nay dare not, write any thing in derogation of Oates or his plot; for, such a letter intercepted and produced, the writer had gone headlong into the midst of it; at least had suffered for traducing the justice of the nation. So the intelligence ran all on one side; and there is no wonder

that Oates should be so idolized, as he was, amongst the factors and merchants at Constantinople. Our merchant told us that, in all their jollities, next to the king's health, Oates's was celebrated. But they thought it very strange that the next letters did not bring the bottom, nor the next; but still, by the next, they hoped they should have it. Thus our merchant came home seasoned; but, instead of finding the bottom turned up, the moon was in the wane and Oates was become almost a common detestation. It was some time before we could, by discourse, give him a right idea of our public; so hard held he upon the prejudice that was burnt into him, by letters from England, about this devilish plot. But, by degrees he saw daylight, and detested that nest of villains as much as we did; and his behaviour afterwards showed him to be a true convert.

336. He found us almost ready to go together by the ears, about public matters, which soon settled in the terms of *Whig* and *Tory*.¹ Those were the appellatives; but the mythology was *seditious* and *loyal*; the history of which is fully related in the Examen. Those who joined in all the wicked practices to destroy the then present government, and those who endeavoured, by all justifiable means, to sustain the credit and authority of it (as there was need enough) against the stratagems and under-hand dealings of the others. The former were also distinguished by crying up Oates's plot; and the others, by crying it down. And, upon such terms of faction, heats, animosities, strivings, tumults, seditions, and what not of disorder, was grown to that height, as made Whitehall shake; all which is fully made appear in the said Examen. The Whigs declared a war against the person of the Duke of York, who was unhappily declared a Roman Catholic; and they stirred up and abetted proceedings solemnly to have him excluded from succeeding to the crown. The Tories understood well, that this did not strike more at the duke than at the king himself; for, if the exclusion passed, the king must be deprived of his magistracy and militia, without which the exclusion would not be safe; and that

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 286, note.

which could not have been modestly asked before, would then have been demanded ; and the granting what they asked, would have made a reason to ask what could not without the ruin of the public be granted ; and yet they thought they should be able to extort it : and, for that reason, they were impetuous for the exclusion even to madness ; or, as if they were fully bent, in the first place, to extort even that.

337. I shall not here give any account of this plot of Oates's, nor of the monster brought forth by it, called *Ignoramus* ; nor of the troubles about choosing sheriffs of London and Middlesex, because a particular account is given of all these in the Examen, and the Life of this gentleman's best brother, the Lord Keeper North. It may be found also in the same Life, how this gentleman was persuaded to hold sheriff ; I shall therefore omit that also, and proceed to some particulars, not so exactly related there.

338. As soon as he had determined to hold sheriff, and that was known, the agitators of the opposing party were at their wits' end ; for they knew on what bottom the whole machine rested, viz. the Lord Chief Justice North's reputation and authority. He was one whom, by all their arts, terrors, and insinuations, they could never seduce to move a hair's breadth from what he judged to be his duty to the crown : and that also he esteemed to be his best service to his country ; since that way only he thought justice and peace in the nation was to be maintained. He concluded that, with his majesty and his government, the church and national liberty and the people's safety and property must stand and fall together. And, besides this steadiness, it was yet worse ; for, with his skill in the law and known adherence to justice, for which he was celebrated by the citizens among whom he had acted as chief judge for many years, he had also an interest and authority in all the counties of England, in most of which he was not only loved but revered. All this cast such a damp upon the cause of the faction as they could not bear. They turned every stone, executed every invention that could be contrived, to break this system. They bellowed and roared with univocal noise, not only in the city but all

over England, that Sir John Moor¹ and his Sheriff North should both be hanged for their daring to invade the rights of the citizens. They applied to work personally upon Mr. North; for the party men that were his friends and acquaintance, and even those that were indifferent, came about him wondering what he meant. "What!" said they, "put yourself in a place that is disputed, and that with so much rage and fury? You'll certainly be undone." All that he answered was, "I'm a citizen and I'll obey the city. If I'm called upon an office, the oath I took as a freeman requires me to obey; and, by the grace of God," clapping his hand on his head, "so I will," said he, "and never break my head about titles."

339. But what was very remarkable, in the midst of all this bruit when most people expected Mr. North should not have come much abroad or have appeared concerned if not somewhat dubious, at a time when his name was broiling upon the coals, being the subject of all the talk of the town and, as the faction had ordered the matter, country to boot; yet he went about his business, and walked the streets to and fro with all the freedom and mirth he used to show, as if nothing stirring had concerned him. It was pleasant, whilst walking with him, to see fellows in haste stop at the sight of him and let him pass by while they stared; and in little companies on the other side, people in their talk, looking and pointing towards him, as saying, "that's he." This behaviour was wondered at, and differently interpreted according to the complexion of the observers. The party men, who knew best why they were so concerned to retain their dear impunity, rested not, but were continually pushing some experiment or other to divert him. They found out his ordinary friends, and wrote penny-post letters about, that they might, for his own good, which the writers (forsooth) were tender of, dissuade him: and not a few came, directed to himself in the guise of good-will. At length, they called him *blind Bayard*, and made a stupid insensible ass

¹ See the character of Sir John Moor, in the *Examen*, p. 596; where an account is also given of the transactions mentioned in the text. See also Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 914).

of him that understood not what he was about. And so this bull-beggar trade went on till after the election ; which made matter of discourse, and sometimes merriment, among ourselves ; but altered not the state of his case one jot.

340. But one thing the party did, which was really malicious and might have had an unfortunate turn upon him. They found out that, at this time, he was in full courtship of a widow lady, very beautiful and rich, the daughter of Sir Robert Cann, a morose old merchant of Bristol. They caused letters to be sent to this old gentleman, from some in London that he valued, intimating that his daughter was going to throw herself away upon a new-comer, that all people believed was not worth a groat ; else he would not act so desperately as he did ; for, if he went on, he would certainly be hanged. And the lady herself was plied with gossips ; but her penetration was not so shallow as their tittle-tattle. She lodged in the house of an understanding merchant, one Mr. George Sitwell ; and, it is likely, the gentleman gave a good account of his proceedings both to his lady and the merchant her friend ; and, as it fell out, all this wind shook no corn in that quarter.

341. Not long after the declaration of the choice at the Common Hall, there came to Mr. Dudley North a summons to attend my lord mayor and court of aldermen. He attended, and was told that he had been duly elected, by the city at their Common Hall, to be one of the sheriffs for London and Middlesex for the next year ensuing ; and they required him to give the proper security to hold, or he must expect to be fined. He, in a short speech, disabled himself, as a stranger to and unexperienced in, English affairs ; therefore not qualified for such a place ; and, moreover, he heard much discourse touching the illegality of his being chosen ; and he hoped he should not be put upon an office of which the right was disputed. He was ordered to withdraw, and soon after called in, and told that the whole court was very well satisfied of his capacity for the office he was chosen into ; and, as to the title, it was unanimously agreed by the whole court (the five aldermen of the faction being then present) none dissenting, that he

was duly elected and must serve. Thereupon he submitted; and, having entered into bonds with condition to be sworn into and to execute the office of sheriff, he was, for that time, dismissed. And, when the time came, he was solemnly sworn and, passing the forms, was allowed at the Exchequer.¹ And the old sheriffs turned over the gaols to these new ones in accustomed manner and form; wisely determining not to refuse that, for reasons already declared in the *Examen*. I might here mention an attempt of the faction, through Mr. Fairclough, to make Mr. North b——te himself, as they used to term it; but it is particularly related in the *Examen*, so shall not make any repetition of it.

342. During all these turbulences in the public, Mr. North did not neglect his main; which was to accomplish his match with the Lady Gunning. Concerning which, I must remember that, as soon as it was seriously thought of, I took upon me to write to Sir Robert Cann, her father, with whom I was well acquainted, and proposed the match to him, setting forth Mr. North with all the advantage I could. The old knight returned an answer and in it an enormous demand, viz. that when Mr. North had purchased an estate, in land, of three or four thousand pounds a year (I know not which) whereby he might make settlements suitable to his daughter's fortune, he would hearken to my proposition; but none of less estate in land must pretend to her. This was cold water, and I desisted. But, when a good advance was made in the lady's favour, she adhering resolutely to have her father's consent, without which she would never marry, Mr. North himself wrote to Sir Robert in general terms, for his consent upon making such settlements as should be approved. His answer was to the same effect, viz. that when he had produced his particulars, &c. Then Mr. North wrote again a proposition to settle twenty thousand pounds to purchase an estate, &c. The old man answered thus, "Sir, my answer to your first letter is an answer to your second. Your

¹ For a full account of these transactions, see the *Examen* (p. 595, *et seq.*), and the Trial of Pilkington and others for a riot. (*Howell's State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 187.) See also the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 249, *et seq.*

humble servant, R. C." Mr. North returned, "Sir, I perceive you like neither me nor my business. Your humble servant, D. N." And there ended the correspondence with the father at that time. But, in the meantime, he had wrote to his daughter, to show her the precipice she was upon; going to marry a desperado, not worth a groat, and one that would certainly be hanged.

343. But the old man at length, finding this would be a match, when the dust raised by party work was well cleared off, fell in; and, since he could not have his will in the person, he resolved to have it in the settlements. So, besides what Mr. North settled, he must turn over all his wife's fortune of all kinds for her separate dispose. This done, he consented; and the match, with a very honourable attendance, was solemnized. But the lady, whose judgment and penetration was superior to most of her sex, took care, before she went to church, to commit her separate maintenance to the flames, as being for the most part a make-bait, and never of use but in the cases of young folks whose characters are not known. Any one that hath lived in the view of the world, as she had done, might easily discern a good man from a bad one. The many marks of family, company, reputation, successes, &c. seldom fail to indicate a man's moral character. It was almost impossible but this match must prove happy; for here were two persons to be joined that were wise and sincere and who meant the same thing, that is, to make each other happy. I have heard Mr. North say, that he never feared an ill wife if the woman was wise; for then she would go to her interest; and he could make that so plain to her as she could not mistake it. The only thing he feared in a match was the being made infamous; which was in a woman's power to do; and there were no means upon earth to prevent it. He had not heard, I suppose, what a gentleman said who on that account had parted with his wife. "It's true," said he, "I was a cuckold; but now I am none for I have cut off my horns."

344. But, to show how this lady condescended to oblige her husband after she was married, I must observe that, contrary to her nature and humour, which was to be re-

tired, she kept him company in public at his feastings, sitting at the upper end of the table at those noisy and fastidious dinners. And it did not a little illustrate his happiness in the midst of these shrieval troubles when the citizens came, that a lady so beautiful and rich, with her *belles airs*, advanced, receiving and saluting so much company. But it was to continue only for one year; so she endured it. The old knight, her father, came at last to be proud of his son; for when the first visit was paid at Bristol, Mr. North, to humour the vanity of that city and people, put himself in a splendid equipage. And the old man, in his own house, often said to him, "Come, son, let us go out and shine," that is, walk about the streets with six footmen, in rich liveries, attending. But when he found the separate deed given up and the furniture she had there packing away, he was enraged and told her she was cheated, &c. He made her so afraid of him that she durst not stay in his house without her husband, but chose to accompany him over sea to St. Brevill's,¹ where her jointure lay, though sick to death (being breeding), rather than stand her father's discourse to her. But all was well at last; as will be told afterwards.

345. When all the forms of this shrieval instalment were over, Mr. North received the honour of knighthood; which he would have declined saving for two reasons; one was, the usage of the city which the magistrates are commonly delighted with, and pay willingly for that court-compliment; and his not embracing it had been taken ill of him. The other reason was, that his wife might not be styled the Lady Gunning; which separation, even of names, he chose to avoid. But, as to honour and place, that which he had by birth was superior.² The great alteration visible in the faces of the citizens after this election, has been taken notice of in the Examen. And, as the custom of feasting, lately laid aside, was now resumed, Mr. North took a great hall that belonged to one of the companies and kept his entertainments there. He had divers very considerable presents from friends and rela-

¹ In Gloucestershire.

² He being the son of a peer and so "The Honourable"; she only taking rank as a knight's widow.

tions, besides the compliments of the several companies inviting themselves and wives to dinner, dropping their guineas and taking apostle spoons in the room of them ; which, with what they ate and drank, and such as came in the shape of wives (for they often gratified a she-friend or relation with that preferment) carried away, made but an indifferent bargain. The Middle Templars (because of his relation to the Lord Chief Justice North, who was of that society,) came with a compliment and a purse of one hundred guineas, and were entertained. The mirth and rejoicing that was in the city, as well at these feasts as at private entertainments, is scarce to be expressed. It was so great that those who called themselves the sober party were very much scandalized at it ; and lamented the debauchery that had such encouragement in the city ; as is more particularly related in the *Examen*.¹ It is, however, certain that Mr. North, who had a set of servants as good as he hoped ever to have, found that the loose living during the shrievalty had spoiled them all ; and he could not keep one of them after the year was ended.

346. I omit the share he had in composing the tumults about burning the Pope, because that is already accounted for in the *Examen* and the Life of the Lord Keeper North. Neither is there occasion to say any thing of the rise and discovery of the Rye plot, for the same reason. Nor is my subject much concerned with this latter, farther than that the conspirators had taken especial care of Sir Dudley North. For he was one of those who, if they had succeeded, was to have been knocked on the head, and his skin to be stuffed and hung up in Guildhall. But, all that apart, he reckoned it a great unhappiness that so many trials for high treason and executions should happen

¹ *Examen*, p. 617. “At all the Tory healths, as they were called, the cry was reared of *huzza*, which, at these great and solemn feasts, made no little noise and gave advantage to the Whigs, that liked not such music, to charge the Tories with brutality and extravagance.” The dissatisfied temper of the citizens had shown itself in their abstaining from their usual festivities which it was the object of Sir Dudley North to revive :—“all the feasting and common good-fellowship of the neighbourhood laid aside ; and in coffee-houses and corners of the streets continual debates about party making and party working, and not seldom right down scolding and quarrelling.” (*Examen*, p. 597.)

in his year. However, in those affairs the sheriffs were passive; for all returns of pannels, and other dispatches of the law, were issued and done by the under-officers; which was a fair screen for them. They attended at the trials and executions to coerce the crowds and keep order; which was enough for them to do. I have heard Sir Dudley North say that, striking with his cane, he wondered to see what blows his countrymen would take upon their bare heads and never look up at it. And indeed nothing can match the zeal of the common people to see executions. The worst grievance was the executioner coming to him for orders touching the absconded members, and to know where to dispose of them. Once, while he was abroad, a cart with some of them came into the court-yard of his house and frightened his lady almost out of her wits. And she could never be reconciled to the dog hangman's saying he came to speak with his master. These are inconveniences that attend the stations of public magistracy and are necessary to be borne with, as magistracy itself is necessary. I have now no more to say of any incidents during the shrievalty; but that, at the year's end, he delivered up his charges to his successors in like manner as he had received them from his predecessor; and, having reinstated his family, he lived well and easy at his own house as he did before these disturbances put him out of order.

347. The next public station he had, was that of alderman of Basinghall, in which he lived. He came in first by election and, after the charter was seized, he held on by commission. This brought him into the Court of Aldermen and gave him the authority of a justice of peace. That office fell out to be more than ordinary troublesome; because, in the discovery of the Rye plot, it had appeared that the whole confederacy rested upon a conventicling foot. Whereupon the king did not intend that course of connivance, which had given them means of doing him so much hurt, should continue; but ordered the magistrates to do their duty as the laws required. The informers had encouragement enough; for they had a third of the penalty paid as it was levied; and constables were allowed for their charges, or time spent, in making the levies: and, since

they were invited to the employment, there were enough to bring business of this kind to justices of peace, for the time it lasted, all over England ; especially in London. And of this he had a full share ; and as to the troubles, loss, and scandal, that was intended to have been brought over him and his family, for what he did in that capacity, another place will soon declare.

348. It is certain that he took very little pleasure in this office ; for, whenever people came with business, and, as their way is, to wrangle and scold before him, he used to sit attentively (as they thought) observing them. When, in truth, he was watching for handles to get rid of them ; and if he found any, he was most rigorous in not exceeding his authority and made the best of his pretences to drive them all away. As, for instance : upon complaints for breaches of the peace ; if he found out that an action of trespass or battery lay, he sent them straight away to the law ; and he was far from being good to his clerk by forward and frequent binding over. But yet, in cases that he thought belonged to his office to order in, he never formalized but determined as the law required. He used to say he did not understand, when business came properly before him, what choice he had, as some folks expected, to meddle, or let it alone. But he never went a hair's breadth out of the way to trouble or grieve any body.

349. But now, as to what he did in the conventicing business, I must crave leave to extend my relation beyond the two king's reigns whom he served, into that of King William and Queen Mary, and even beyond the thread of his own life. For the same spirit that gave him some trouble while he was alive, when he was gone, continued to trouble his widow and relations that he left behind him. But to give the devil his due, it was not wholly a spirit of malice and revenge but of covetousness also ; and that, perhaps, had the greatest share. When informations of conventicles came before him, he took the examinations and made the convictions as the law directs, and then gave out his warrants to the constables to levy ; who, having raised the money, brought it to him, and he first set off the charges and then gave one-third of what remained to the informer, and another to the constable to the use of

the poor, and the other third he kept in his hands to be answered to the king. And of all this proceeding he kept a waste-book referring to the informations on his file; and, at fitting times, passed the sums into his journal and ledger, and, of all payments kept special acquittances.

- 350. This trade lasted about nine months; and then abated; and, at the death of King Charles the Second, wholly ceased; and, at that time there rested about one hundred and fifty pounds in his hands of what was due to the crown. He was not aware of the common usage of the justices, to pay this money to the clerk of the peace at the sessions, and knew not well what to do with it. At length, being with my Lord Rochester (who then was at the head of the Treasury) and acquainting him with it, desired his directions what to do with the money. His lordship bade him pay it into the Exchequer and strike a tally of discharge for it; which he did; and the tally expressed the sum and the times between which it was levied. This was the best acquittance he could have had for it. After the Revolution, the fanatics were rampant and made a full account to meet with their old friends in the irregularities they expected to discover to have passed in the proceedings against them. Among other heads, this of conventional money due to the crown and sunk by the justices of the peace, was one. And making account also that, in the returns and entries of the clerks of the peace they should find them all out, they searched all those and comparing their own payments with the books of the clerks of the peace, it appeared that very great sums were wanting, and, as they concluded, were sunk in the hands of the justices. And, in sober earnest, as to some the very truth was so; whereby those justices became obnoxious. After they had finished their catalogue and extracts, wherein Sir Dudley North had the honour of a place for above one hundred pounds, they converted the whole to a project, and, taking in some courtiers for shares, got a grant of these monies; and then set up an office for compositions. They sent to all that were in their list peccant, to come and compound, or they would be prosecuted in the Exchequer. And of divers of these sinkers, or careless justices, that had never minded their charge, they got considerable sums of money.

351. As for Sir Dudley North, they concluded they had him fast; and, besides the money matter, they should disgrace the pretended man of honour; for he was so thorough-stitch as never to have paid in to the clerk of the peace one single penny of all the great sums levied by him. Accordingly they sent to him to pay so much, or he was to be prosecuted. He slightly told them he had paid all and had a tally. They did not believe him nor would they search to know if he lied, or not; but put him into their bill and charged him; but it was for a less time and sum than the tally expressed. Whether his short answer discouraged them or other reasons swayed them, I know not; but I do not remember that he was served with any process to answer while he lived; but, after his death, they sent to his widow to come to their office and make an end; for else she would be prosecuted. They found out his surviving brothers and advised them, out of friendship to the widow, and to prevent farther charge and damage, to make up the business. But they defied them and declared they would justify their brother's behaviour against all the world. So, at length, a *subpœna* came, and the lady was served. She had mustered up all her papers and accounts and had her tally of discharge, and, by the advice of Mr. Ward¹ (not then attorney-general) answered; and, the cause being heard whilst he was attorney-general and prosecutor, as to her, the bill was dismissed.

352. There was somewhat very remarkable in the prosecution of this cause; for although Sir Dudley North in his lifetime, and, after his death, his brothers, told these agents of the payment and tally; yet they neither believed nor searched to disprove them. They acted as if they were loth to be convinced that their stroke at his honour must fail. Ward, that, as counsel and upon view of the tally settled and signed the lady's answer, yet, as attorney-general, prosecuted and brought her to hearing; the consequence of which was loss of costs: for those justices that were condemned paid to the king's costs; but those that were acquitted had none. At the hearing, those brothers attending with the tally and to act the part of a friend,

¹ Sir Edward Ward became Attorney-general 30th March, 1693, and was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer June, 1695.

Mr. Attorney was disturbed and asked what they came for. One of the counsel at the bar, though not in the cause, answered, "To vindicate their brother's honour." The tally was thrown upon the table, and the barons, each one after another, spectacled it over and over and scarce believed their own eyes. But so it was ; and there this cause ended, verifying a great truth in Horace,

— “Murus aheneus esto,
Nil concire sibi.”

353. I come now to the placing Sir Dudley North in the Custom-house, as a commissioner for the management of that revenue. The Lord Rochester was chief commissioner of the Treasury, and laboured with all his might to make the utmost advantage to the king of all the branches of his income. There was one Sir Nicholas Butler, then the most active in that commission. He was a tall and bold man, well-voiced, of ready utterance, and, in his discourse, persuasive or rather over-ruling. He was full of menace and terror to those that were his inferiors and who he thought feared him ; but most obsequious to superiors and those who could oppose or control him. He was diligent and, in acting, authoritative. He had good ruling methods, which made him in the main a good officer. And he had been better, but for what follows, viz. he was corrupt and did more business clandestinely than aboveboard. He had used the commissioners like *yau*-brethren, to execute what he had by himself contrived. His dictatorship was rampant in nothing more than in the article of officers, and the placing or displacing of them. And, however the collection leaned upon nothing more than this branch, yet he had no regard to merit but to his creatures only ; and laboured to fill the managery with such men only as should fall down before him, and worship him. In a word, he was the most active commissioner, but a tool of the popish interest ; and as that brought him in he courted it to continue. After the demise of King Charles II., he turned statesman, and, together with the lord chancellor Jeffries, the Lord Sunderland, and Father Peters, managed the regulation of corporations, in order to obtain a fanatic parliament, or rather, as I believe they intended, none at all, and used those ways to make parliaments, in the air of

which he knew that he and his co-operators could not live, impracticable. He was certainly a vile instrument in carrying things to such extremities as occasioned the Revolution ; and one may conclude designedly, if his being let live afterwards in his house at Edmonton, obnoxious as he was, in full peace without the least question or disturbance whatever, may be any argument. How else could he have contrived any way to have saved his bacon ? The Lord Rochester, however regardless of Sir Dudley North when formerly named to him, was now pleased to send for him and let him know that it was his majesty's pleasure he should be in the commission of the Customs. At that time we had a guess that he was picked out by King Charles II. himself, to be placed there, as the only man likely to poise Butler, who came in by the Duke of York ; and the king did not like him but could not well displace him. Sir Dudley North was steady, clear, and resolved, and thereby fit to give check to the presumptuous ways of the other.

354. Having now added to his revenue a pension of one thousand pounds a year and some presents of eatables, as Westphalia hams seized, spices from the East India Company and the like, which came of course, he thought (as most men do that feel their fortunes rising) that he must live greater than he had done before. The rather because his lady, though affecting retirement, yet, when she did appear loved to have a parade about her ; and often childing brought christenings, which, in the city, are usually celebrated with much company and feasting. And she herself, being a Bristol lady, where excesses of that kind ordinarily prevail, was desirous not to fail of what was on such occasions expected. And he also, being a commissioner and otherwise concerned with the court, had occasion to entertain great men ; and in the house where he lived he was too strait and wanted even the conveniences that belonged to a Turkey merchant. All which reasons, not without a *q. s.¹* of pride and vanity to season the mess and not a little repented of afterwards, he parted with his house in Basinghall-street, and took that great one behind

¹ Quantum sufficit.

Goldsmiths' Hall, built by Sir John Bludworth.¹ He furnished it richly, especially one state-apartment of divers rooms in file. The whole cost him at least four thousand pounds. His repentance of this piece of vanity came on the sooner because this house was situate among the goldsmiths and other smoky trades, that, for the convenience of the hall, are very thick planted thereabouts; and their smoke and dust filled the air and confounded all his good furniture. He hath in person laboured hard to caulk up the windows; and all chimneys not used were kept close stopped. But, notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent it, the dust gathered thick upon every thing within doors; for which reason the rooms were often let stand without any furniture at all.

355. Being got into this great house, he was capable of doing all his mercantile affairs at home; and he proposed to live in exact order, and thereby be able to return civilities and entertain his friends as became him. He made divers christening feasts, and invited divers of the nobility and others that were his friends. He considered that he had not the skill to direct modish entertainments which, being affected and ill performed, were as bad or worse than none. Therefore, in the person of a citizen and alderman of London, he affected the city forms and had his long tables covered plentifully with the officers and proclamations, as the way was at the city feasts. If these were not right, the guests must blame antiquity and as well find fault with the shape of his gown. Ordinarily he kept a very easy and plain table; and, in evenings, made merry with his friends, who were of the first quality and employments, that often came and supped with him. The method which we of the fraternity used among ourselves, was to spend at least one night in the week with Sir Dudley North, which was Thursday, and with my Lord Chief Justice North on Sundays, till he had the great seal; and then many more were added to his nights; and I, that was no housekeeper, became an *ubiquitarian* till his lordship's death; and then Sunday nights fell to my share. But, our times coming to be known, friends would often fall in to find us altogether, and, by

¹ Query Sir Thomas Bludworth, Lord Mayor in 1666.

that means, spies also had too much opportunity to frequent us. Of which kind Mr. Henry Guy, secretary to the Treasury, that frequently and familiarly came to my Lord Keeper North, was an egregious one. I once gave a slight entertainment to this Mr. Guy and his colleague Charles Duncomb, the Exchequer banker. His lordship was then alive; but only Sir Dudley North was with me. We thought these had been our good friends as they had furiously professed; but, in truth, being creatures of my Lord Sunderland, who was then entering again at the back door of the court, they came only to spy how his lordship (their grandee) was resented amongst us. So, without any provocation, they fell to swearing what a divine man he was; such a man, &c. And this so long that Sir Dudley North, to take them down a little, asked, but very inadvertently, "how he came to be turned out of the court before." At that, they were hush. They had what they came for and said not a word more. But, from that time, the Lord Sunderland declared open war against the Lord Keeper North and all his dependents. So little safety there is in the conversation of courtiers. But thus we ourselves loved and lived in exquisite unanimity and harmony; which was, upon earth, too much of happiness to have long continuance.

356. Sir Robert Cann was chosen into the Westminster Parliament in the time of King Charles II., when the anti-petitioners and abhorriers were mortified. It was found afterwards that a rebellion was then hatching; and the instruments were every where active and particularly in Bristol, where one Row, the sword-bearer, was as busy in mischief as the best; and being accused in the Rye discovery he took to his heels. About that time there was, in Bristol, a loyal party much superior to the faction; and Sir Robert Cann was one of them. They all had found out that this Row was a rascal; and though he was their officer yet they held him in utter detestation. But in order to lay hold on some persons or proceedings in Bristol, on account of abhorring (the history of which is to be found in the Examen), the factious party caused this Row to be brought up to testify against some of his masters. Sir Robert Cann, ever passionate, violent, and hasty, was so

provoked at such his appearing, that, in the Parliament-house, he swore "by G—d he was a d——d rogue." For this swearing he was sent to the Tower, where (being a little too stiff to kneel) he lay till the parliament rose. After which he came out and was entertained very civilly at his son's house. And then his note was altered. He could say nothing to his daughter but commendations of her husband and what a heavenly man she had got.

357. But now, to make an end of Sir Dudley North's engagements on account of his father-in-law; I must tell what happened in the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries's visitation at Bristol. After the rebellion of Monmouth was quelled, this chief was sent down into the West with a commission of Oyer, &c. He had also a commission of war which empowered him to command all the forces in the West.¹ How matters went at that bloody assizes, there are memorials enough to show. But so armed he went to Bristol; and was there informed of an undue practice of the city justices, which was called kidnapping; a full account of which is to be found in the *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*.² It fell out that Sir Robert Cann, though he sat as justice amongst them, never had any of these criminals or any benefit by the proceeding. But the sitting by silent, it seems, was fault enough. He ought to have opposed and contradicted what was done; and so probably he had if he had understood it. But Jeffries, having ranted his fill there, came up to London with his list of aldermen of Bristol to be prosecuted; and his authority, as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, made the business very terrible to all that were concerned. Sir Robert Cann was one; and expecting little less than utter ruin, he came up to solicit his friends to procure him some mitigation and to appease the rage of the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries.

358. He came directly to his son's house; and there we consulted and, upon the matter of singularity and non-corruption in his case, we comforted the old gentleman that was ready to die for fear; assuring him that in the end he could not be convicted, because he did not expressly act. But that did not quiet his mind. Somewhat must be done

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, § 378.

² § 331.

to soften the Lord Jeffries towards him. Thereupon we resolved to go with him to his lordship and make the best weather we could; which we did. And, it falling to my share to be the spokesman, I extenuated the matter as it deserved and begged his lordship's favour and excuse, so that Sir Robert might not be prosecuted. The Lord Jeffries stared upon us, and talked a great deal of the enormity of the offence, and what punishment it deserved for example's sake. At last he came round and "For those two gentlemen's sakes," said he, "I pardon you for this time; but go your way and sin no more lest a worse thing come unto you." We conned our thanks and came away with our Bristol knight a little better cheered. He passed about a fortnight with his daughter, continually idolizing her husband. But, although his fears of the law or rather of my Lord Jeffries were removed, yet his spirits were so roiled with this expedition that he never heartily enjoyed himself after. We observed and wondered at the alteration of his diet. His custom was to drink sherry, morning, noon, and night; but now he took a fancy to his son's small beer, of which he drank extravagantly and drank little or no wine; and wonderfully pleased he was with his new diet and was much concerned he had not found it out before; for he had scarce drunk a drop in seven years. But Nature would not long bear so great a change especially in the declining way; whereupon, soon after his return to Bristol, he died. He was neither very old nor valetudinary; and, as he had lived in splendour and authority at home, he might have continued so for many years. But journeys, troubles, and perplexities, are not a good regimen for an old gentleman of that condition.

359. We must now take our way by the Custom-house, and observe the conduct of our commissioner there. He was entirely satisfied with the employment, because all the business of it, trade, and inspection of men in their dealing, whether clear or reserved sincere or fraudulent, and all the concerns of navigation and commerce with the arts and subterfuges relating thereunto, were familiar to him; and all the dispositions and methods of proceeding in great managements, with the strict accounts that belonged to them

and the surest means to obviate frauds, were in the calendar of his day-labour and practised accordingly for many years. So that he never was at a non-plus but readily saw his way through the most intricate meanders of Custom-house business. He attended constantly, was just and equal to both merchants and officers. He encouraged fair traders; which was best done by sitting, as he did, hard upon the skirts of smugglers. For, if custom be paid by some and not by others, it follows that, by their selling cheaper, the former are undone. By his adherence to this and other approvable methods he acquired a great authority and reputation in that province.

360. But I must observe withal, that, together with all this, he was not free from clamour; for, however the fair merchants were satisfied, the foul ones joined in a common cry against him; and no wonder when he was to them a rock of offence, and to the revenue a screen against their frauds. It is their constant practice to move every stone to get rid of a good officer, whom no mists will blind nor corruption infect. Such an one is a common nuisance; and if calumnies, lies, or any indirect means will confound him, they have a magazine that will hold out. And in that age when parties raged, he being eminent on the one side the smugglers took it into the other and talked of nothing but illegalities and oppressions, endeavouring among the anti-court party in the city to make him thought the veriest tyrant upon earth, and no better than a Turkish basha; and how far they went towards it shall be touched. In the mean time it was manifest that all those who appeared publicly to charge him, were the most notorious thieves of Custom in the whole city; and very few of the fair traders, and those upon account of factious spleen only, joined with them.

361. He was author of divers new artifices to obviate frauds and joined willingly in others that tended to the same end, whoever proposed them. It may be expected, that I should produce some instances of these, because they were distinguishing, and would tend to the justification of his management. But, however at the time I was well enough possessed of divers of them, I cannot now trust my memory; nor have I access to public memorials

or other means to recollect them; but, that they were considerable, what follows may evince. After the Revolution, when all his enemies thought themselves favourites and had full liberty to bring forward all matters of complaint they thought would reflect upon, or any way hurt, him, the horrid abuses in the management of the Customs was one topic exaggerated in order to fall heavy upon Sir Dudley North. And, all that while, Sir Nicholas Butler rested in peace. This went so far as to be carried into the House of Commons; and there a committee was appointed to examine and report these abuses. A new set of commissioners at that time had been put into the Customs, who were raw and, whatever they thought of themselves, knew very little of their work. These had the pre-eminence at the committee; they sat often and made a great noise with their examinations; during which time Sir Dudley North did not come near them nor scarce asked what they did. At last they made two great discoveries; one was, that they knew but little of the business they had taken in hand and could scarce come up to an understanding of what the merchants discoursed about the Custom-house affairs. For that collection is so vast, multitudinous, mysterious, and, by various laws, perplexed, that, as of a profession, it requires the life of a man to be master of it. I have heard Sir Dudley North say, that the revenue of the Customs was made up of little particulars; and that a neglect of the least thing is an immense loss. What is to be said then, if ignorance, neglect, or perhaps knavery, runs through the whole? The public feels though it knows not the consequence. But the other great discovery was, that all those regulations complained of were both legal, and reasonable to be (as by even themselves they were) continued; and by the same degrees as light concerning those affairs came into their eyes, they discerned the prudence of the former commissioners. And so all this bustle, which was carried on with threats and other tokens of ill-will to Sir Dudley North, went off without any other effect than his justification. This was the first stroke his good friends, the fanatics, after the Revolution, made at him. But others were intended and, in their time, furiously prosecuted as far as

they would go. Whereof some, however roundly contrived, dropped short; as, in the sequel, will be declared.

362. Of all his colleagues in this commission none acted with so much vigour as Sir Nicholas Butler.¹ The next best of them was one Mr. Dickenson, who, as I remember, was a commissioner. Sir John Werden was so far from acting that he did not pretend to understand what passed at that board. He often leaned to Sir Dudley North, and said he did not oppose what was determined but desired to be made understand it; and thereupon, in a few words, he struck him a light. The advantage Sir Dudley North had by this gentleman's company was the learning of him a little algebra, at which he was a doctor. So, at times when they had leisure, they two were busy at *plus* and *minus*, convolution and evolution; and Sir Dudley was extremely pleased with this new kind of arithmetic which he had never heard of before.

363. But, in this Custom-house employ, one great concern was, to comport with Sir Nicholas Butler, whom he knew to be so well sustained, that to break with him was to break the commission. Therefore, although far from joining in all measures with him, yet, if he brought the superior authority over the commission they must all rest satisfied. He did all the service he might and then thought himself absolved. It was no small difference in their several methods of proceeding, that, if Butler put in an officer (for the commissioners took that in turns), and he were found faulty, Butler supported him and contrived by all the ways he could to fetch him off. But, if Sir Dudley North put in one who proved peccant, he himself was the first and fiercest to expose and drive him away. In those cases, Sir Nicholas Butler always sided with Sir Dudley North's man, endeavouring all he could to bring him off, expecting (as was to be supposed) that he should make a kind return in fetching Butler's men off. But Sir Dudley North was far from that practice; and none

¹ This man was one of those who turned Roman Catholic in April, 1687, and received his reward in October, being then sworn of the Privy Council. Next month he was appointed one of the commissioners for "regulating" the municipal corporations. After the flight of James II. Butler changed sides; he was reinstated in his place in the Customs in 1693. He died in June, 1700.

so fierce and inexorable as he was, even against the very men that he himself had recommended; nor would he pass by a fraud in any man. And, some pretending to him that there needed not so much ado about small matters, he said, "So much the more, because the revenue (as I said) was made up of small things swept together; and, if not strictly conserved, the whole like sand would slip through their fingers."

364. Another difficulty he had to struggle with, was to satisfy the Treasury in many perplexed inquiries they thought fit to make, touching the income of the Customs. There was, first, my Lord Rochester, a diligent person and dissatisfied if everything did not succeed as he expected. Then, certain of the Treasury officers, Mr. Lownds principally, collected the totals of the branches; by which it appeared that some failed more than others; and divers queries they made. The Lord Rochester sent for the commissioners, and as from himself, gave them those papers, requiring their answer: for, if there was not an apparent reason why this or that branch fell short, he must take it to have proceeded from some ill management; and, if he had not immediate answers, he was apt to exceed in his expostulations with them thereupon. Sir Dudley North desired they might have time to look back and compare years, and he doubted not but to give his lordship satisfaction. The scrutinies to be made on these occasions, were so voluminous and intricate that no other commissioner would attempt any thing towards them; but the whole fell to the share of Sir Dudley North. He caused all the accounts of the Custom-house, that he thought useful, to be brought to his house; and there, in a tabular way, he stated all the branches in the several years, as far back as he thought would be needful; and, in that manner, he brought the whole state of the revenue of the Customs into a synopsis, upon the inspection of which he could argue and infer; and so he made clear answers to their queries; viz. that some were mistaken, others impertinent; some trades had found new channels; prohibitions or high duties affected others. If some failed others augmented; for such concerns perpetually vary. And these answers he returned in writing to my Lord

Rochester. It was thought there was some underhand dealing to puzzle the commission in order to have a colour to make alterations: for, if the revenue fell short and they could not tell why, it was a sign they were ill managers; and better must be found out. But, when such an intelligence appeared from the board, as those men were not able to cope with, (for, in truth, no man in England was a better artist at voluminous accounts than Sir Dudley North,) they were troubled with no more enigmas from the Treasury.

365. While he served in this post, divers emergents gave the King, Charles II. a good opinion of his great ability as well as integrity. One was a feud at court struck between the Lord Halifax (Savile), that was then lord privy seal, and the Lord Rochester, first commissioner of the Treasury. There was a contract made with Dashwood and others, for a farm of the revenues of excise and hearth money. The contractors made a great advance, and were to keep books which were to be for the king's use; because they had pretended to serve by showing, first, that they dealt fairly; and secondly, how the revenue might be improved. Pending this farm, the Lord Halifax had been informed that my Lord Rochester was imposed upon,¹ and that the farmers had an immense profit and his majesty as great a loss. And this he declared to the king; and that the farmers ought to be exchequered; and their farm, as a deceit of the king, laid aside; and they, as managers, to become accountants and, having allowance for their pains and charges, the surplus to be answered to the king. The Lord Rochester fired at this; for, however the matter was worded, he took it as an imputation of corruption in him; the same as saying he had been bribed to give the farmers a pennyworth. And no resentments could be carried higher than, upon this occasion, his were. He would neither see, hear, nor endure any thing or person that was not clear on his side.

366. The farmers thought their copyhold touched; and they affirmed strong that their bargain was hard; the

¹ According to Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 920), Halifax accused Rochester of bribery in this transaction. See also *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 150, and the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 371.

Lord Rochester had overreached them ; and that they had their books to demonstrate all they said to be true. But the Lord Halifax was as hot and touchy as the other lord, and continually urged the king to cause an examination to be had. And, at that time of day, his majesty could not as formerly afford to be cheated by wholesale. At length, the farmers were ordered to lay their books before Auditor Aldworth, who was commanded to inspect them and give an account of the profit and loss of the farm. He answered nothing but doubts, and was very shy of saying any thing at all. Then the king commanded the books to be carried to Sir Dudley North, and that the auditor should attend him and his majesty would hear what he said. This was done ; and Sir Dudley North observed, that when he touched upon any thing that was obscure, the auditor hummed and hawed, as if he had lost his utterance. This made him suspect some grand disguise in the accounts ; and, at last, he found clearly that a whole column of figures was falsified and that, in carrying on the books, that column was a blank and left to be filled up as there should be occasion ; and that the writing the figures was plainly postnate and done since the question, to cover the profit of the farm. The king was told of this and would not believe it till Sir Dudley North himself came ; and, having the books before the king, by tokens which could not be contradicted, showed that it was so. Whereupon the king determined to dissolve the farm and turn it into a management ; and process was to go on in the Exchequer for it. But, before any great advance was made (for great persons and great things move slow), the king died, which ended all that affair.

367. I am not certain whether my Lord Rochester was then in the commission of the Treasury, or not ; but rather think that Sidney (since Lord) Godolphin¹ was then first commissioner and the Lord Rochester secretary. But that matter is not in my design ; nor is it to the purpose to any matter here related to recollect. It was not believed that in granting this farm he was corrupt ; but that he was imposed upon by the subtle farmers who cast mists

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 350.

before his eyes, and, by such a fair proposal as that of the books was, while they craftily concealed this piece of art (by a blank column) made him believe that they could not be so brazen as to prove themselves, by their own books, to have been false to him and the king, as was concluded when the immense gains they must have thereby appeared. But, for all that, his lordship flamed nevertheless as if he had been charged with all the corruption and treachery in the world; and never after heartily forgave the Lord Keeper North, who he supposed must say somewhat of this discovery to the king, nor Sir Dudley North; though afterwards, in the next reign, he held fair with and served himself of them both but without a grain of real friendship. It is the nature of courts to make religion of combinations; and, without regard to duty towards superiors, the words *for* and *against* only take place and govern the extremes of rage or of friendship, ruin or favour.

368. There was an incident which concerned the Turkey trade, or rather trade in general, which conduced to give the king a good opinion of Sir Dudley North; and that was his conduct in regard to the scheme of interdicting trade with the Turks; the history of which, with the treacherous design of those that proposed it, is fully set forth in the Examen;¹ so I shall make short of it here, and confine myself to the part our merchant acted therein. When his own reasoning, and that of divers other merchants against this mad proposition, was not regarded, and there was an ambassador upon the point of going out and letters were to be wrote, it was not known but some mad thing or other might be done. To prevent all that at once, Sir Dudley North acquainted his brother, the privy counsellor, with this desperate design, and wished him to take care in time to prevent it.

369. My Lord Keeper North was sensible of more than was obvious, even to the community of the merchants themselves; of whom many did not suspect a factious design. He went to the king, and, as from his brother, unfolded this machination against him; and the king brought it to

¹ *Examen*, p. 462 *et seq.*

the council ; whereupon the Turkey Company were sent for and ordered to rescind all they had done : and they went to their court and did accordingly ; as is more fully related in the Examen.¹ But of this passage no memorial in our ordinary notices remains ; for it was the method of the faction, when any of their attempts miscarried, to hush them up so that nothing of them may appear in history.

370. The merchants, at this court of theirs, spent a great many words reflecting on false brethren that discovered the orders of their court, that, till notified abroad by order of the Company, ought to be private. Sir Dudley North knew they pointed at him and stood up and said that, "If any man there, that owned himself an Englishman, and either would be passive and silent while the interests of his country were going to wreck, or, being summoned to attend his majesty, not answer truly to what was demanded of him, he would reply, that man was both a fool and a knave. Therefore, if any shame came to them they may thank their own bad orders and let those alone who sought to prevent the ruinous effects of them." This bluster showed that he was too big to be played upon amongst them ; and so all passed away in oblivion.—A third incident, which strangely reconciled him to the king's good opinion, was his foretelling the late descent of the Turks upon Germany : but, as the particulars of it are already set down in the Examen, I shall make no mention of it here.

371. But these and other observations which the king had made of Sir Dudley North's capacity for business, inclined his majesty to call him up from the Customs to the Treasury. So he was put into that commission with a salary of one thousand six hundred pounds a year, with the addition of what he esteemed as much as the increase of salary ; which was the enlargement of his time ; for now he had a great share to himself : whereas in the Custom-house the attendance was daily ; and no schoolboys ever made more account of holidays than they did. And, moreover, what with projects, estimates, pennings, and other nice employments, as orders of the Treasury,

¹ *Examen*, p. 464.

which came down to them to dispatch, not to mention the many extraordinary attendances, they could scarce call the afternoons their own. And the business itself did not lie so hard upon him as at the Custom-house; for the chief in the Treasury commonly takes all upon him; but here he was almost the only workman in the commission; for Butler could talk enough but had no pen; and the rest, for the most part, were, as the wonderful way is, knights and squires put in for favour.

372. Sir Dudley North had not been long enough in commission to be signalized for any thing that could fall to his share to act in the Treasury, before the fatal demise of his majesty. He had an opportunity to show his knowledge in the marine, by informing the board touching the abuses in the management of the royal navy and the multitudinous fraud that corroded there.¹ It was usual for the commissioners of the navy to come to the Treasury board, and demand supplies of money to be impressed for the use of the navy. While Sir Dudley North was at the board the navy-men came on their usual errand, and the lords thought fit to demand of them how that money had been applied which was impressed the last month. The commissioners of the navy answered, that they were accountable to the admiralty and not to their lordships; and all that they had to do at that board, was to inform when money was wanted, which their lordships might supply or not as they thought best for the service of his majesty and the nation. But, if the navy was not supplied, whereby the service failed, it must lie at their lordships' and not at their doors: and, in this way they persisted. The lords were very angry with them; for, in strictness, grant them accountable to the admiralty, yet they might be so civil as to let the Treasury know how the imprests had been applied; whereby their lordships might be, in some measure, satisfied that their demands were not exorbitant; and they were told plainly they must soon expect orders from his majesty, who should be informed of their behaviour, and that it should be no more in their power to dispute the

¹ See the account of the frauds in the navy and stores, said to be taken from a MS. of the Lord Keeper Guilford. (*Dalrymple's Appendix*, p. 89.)

demands of the Treasury. I have heard Sir Dudley North say, that, if some potent check were not had over that managey it would soon degenerate into an insupportable pack of confederate knaves: and that, at present, it had no bottom nor was it easy to have any account of their conduct; for they stuck together as men in a vessel that were to sink or swim all at once. And, if money were blindly supplied as fast as they would call for it, the revenue of the nation would be too little to answer them; and yet no more business should be done than they should think fit. And he verily believed that, if any man had an ascendant and power to correct them, if otherwise they could not get rid of him, they would knock his brains out.

373. This, and divers other good works in the way of reforming the methods of dispensing the king's revenue, had been done if his majesty's demise had not prevented. It was not long before that dismal loss, that the king came into the Treasury chamber to settle maintainances for his children, whom, as he told his commissioners, my Lord Shaftesbury had declared he expected to see running about the streets like link-boys. And he, having a mind to finish his new house at Winchester in a short time, thinking that air to be better for his health than Windsor was, caused Sir Christopher Wren, the surveyor-general of his buildings, to attend and pressed him to say how soon it might be done. He answered, "In two years." The king urged him to say if it might not possibly be done in one year. "Yes," said the surveyor-general, "but not so well, nor without great confusion, charge, and inconvenience;" and however diligent they were, he feared disappointments would happen. "Well," said the king, "if it be possible to be done in one year, I will have it so; for a year is a great deal in my life." By such passages as these one would think men had presages of their latter end; at least by this, that his majesty had; for he lived not many weeks after. And what else should make him so solicitous for time and posterity?

374. Then came the fatal crisis of the king's death; of which and of the inexpressible sorrow that appeared in all men's countenances throughout the whole city which was as a family that had lost a common parent, I shall say

nothing here, having already related the particulars of it in the *Examen*.¹ After it was too sure, the great officers under the Crown assembled and took order for the requisites. Of which the first was to proclaim the successor (before Duke of York, now) King of England, by the name of James II. Sir Dudley North and myself, on that occasion, having nothing to do as actors, went about from one place to another as spectators. When all things were ready for the proclamation at Whitehall Gate, we went up the banqueting-house stairs and got out upon the leads, and there, lying along upon the coping of the balusters, we heard the proclamation read and were the first that waved our hats and reared the cry. But whether we were so much observed below, as we fancied, I know not.

375. Then came out the proclamation, that all magistrates and officers should continue in their places and functions as formerly they held till other provision were made. Consequently Sir Dudley North, being a commissioner of the Treasury, met with the rest for form. But they passed their time in easy discourse and did no business; for it was little less than declared that the Treasury white staff would be, as accordingly it soon was, put into the hands of the Lord Rochester. Thereupon Sir Dudley North was dropped, and with the dissolution of that commission, fell from all public employment. But as it was not in his nature to be idle or to live without design, so now, being master of his time, he fell in a main upon the Turkey trade; for which his house had exquisite accommodations. He bought up a great deal of cloth, and had rollers and other conveniences for viewing it put up; and very busy he was. But the court wanted such an officer and soon put him by his trading; for my Lord Rochester, then treasurer, sent for him and told him he must go into the commission of the Customs. He took time to advise and deliberated with himself and his friends, whether, having been last in the Treasury, he should now go less. But, upon mature consideration and conference with his friends he determined not to refuse. He reputed

¹ *Examen*, p. 647, where North says that, on this occasion, "it was not obvious to observe a person walking in the street with dry eyes."

that scruple a ceremonious vanity ; that, in the Custom-house he was at home and the business familiar and so far easy ; and thereupon he undertook that commission once more. This instance, and that of his brother, the Lord Keeper North, have given me occasion to reflect upon the different cases of men in preferments and how much better it is to rise upon account of merit than by mere favour ; for it gives a man full power to be just and upright. Want of merit must be supplied by flattery, compositions, or prostitution. When men are chosen, not for good to themselves but for the good of those that choose them, they have a very good interest, as it is called, and not easily shaken.

376. Sir Dudley North being again settled in the commission of the Customs and a parliament being called by his then majesty King James II., it was thought fit he should be chosen to sit in the House of Commons. And however, as a commissioner of the Customs, he might have been chosen at some one of the out-ports, yet, to make room for another of the king's friends, he chose to serve for the corporation of Banbury, where, on account of the young Lord Guilford's trust, he had a sure interest.¹ And I have to observe of his behaviour the very first session of this parliament what is more than one would expect. For although he was bred in business abroad and had little experience in the affairs of England and in parliament none at all, yet he took the place of manager for the crown in all matters of revenue stirring in the House of Commons ; and what he undertook he carried through against all opposition, with as much assurance and dexterity as if he had been an old battered parliament-man. That a supply or aid to be given to the crown by the Commons at the entrance of a reign, is commonly expected. So far was agreed on by most ; but it was not thought fit to overdo in giving an increase of revenue, for fear ill use might be made of it for Popish designs ; which jealousy created abundance of difficulties. There were not a few that were against all supply till satisfaction

¹ The Lord Keeper died 5th Sept., 1685, leaving his brothers, Sir Dudley and Roger North, trustees of his estates during the minority of his son Francis second Lord Guilford.

about the dispensing power, and better security was given for the due execution of the test and penal laws. So that all supply whatever went much against the grain; and all obstructions that could be thought of were injected to hinder it.

377. On the other side the court made no extravagant demand, and seemed desirous that what was given might be as light and easy to the people as was possible. Divers proposals were made, some for a land-tax on purpose that the duty might be unpopular; some for a tax upon new buildings; and others had their projects, which they had little reason for but only in reserve that they were like to come to nothing. Sir Dudley North took a strict account of all the commodities in trade from the Custom-house books, and considered which would best bear a farther imposition: for if commodities are over-rated it amounts to a prohibition. At last he thought fit to propose a tax of one farthing upon sugars and one halfpenny upon tobacco imported, to lie upon the English consumption only and not upon the export; and this, as he estimated, would yield the sum expected; and would scarce be any burthen sensible to the people. In short, this tax was approved and voted at the committee and a bill directed, which was drawn up and brought in.¹

378. It came not thus far without much opposition and contention; and Sir Dudley North was forced to stand the attacks of a numerous and valuable party in the house; some suspecting his integrity and others his understanding; but he stemmed them all. After the bill was brought in and read and copies went abroad whereby the invention was known, there was a general muster of noises and clamour from all parts of the town, not only of merchants importers but of consumptioners, retailers, &c. raised up against it, as if the utter ruin of all the plantations was to follow; and all trading from thence and all dealing whatever in those commodities were all to be confounded at one single stroke. One that lived in that and in this age must wonder that, in matter of taxing, the one should strain at a gnat and the other swallow camels. The pre-

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 377.

tence of the tradesmen was that, in the end, it would be found to fall upon the plantation trade and to tax the export as well as the home consumption. For although it was pretended that all goods exported, being unaltered, should take back the custom of so much, the practice would be so puzzling and troublesome at the Custom-house that men would rather quit than lose their time about it: and then a rise of the commodity at home would lessen the trade, so as it would not be worth their while to deal in it; whereby the plantations must sink. And a parcel of grocers, sugar-bakers, and tobacconists, also came to my lord treasurer and declared to him positively that, if the bill passed, they would trade in those goods no longer. This startled his lordship; and he ordered them to attend the next day intending that Sir Dudley North should be present; and he was sent to accordingly.

379. At the time there came a great muster of the tradesmen; and divers of them talked one after another and all concluded it to be their common resolution, if that bill passed, to trade in sugars and tobacco no more. Sir Dudley North stared at them and admired their impudence in lying so brazenly. At last my lord treasurer said, "Sir Dudley North, what say you to this?" "My lord," said he, "I desire only to ask them a question." Then, turning to the chief of them, "Sir," said he, "if one comes to your shop to buy sugar, will you sell any?" The grocers, on a sudden, answered "Yes." "Then," said Sir Dudley North, "if you will sell I'm sure you'll buy;" and fell a laughing. Then again he asked them, whether, if they could get money by trading, they would not trade? To which they could not tell what to say. These stabs made them look woodenly upon one another; and the ferment seemed to be laid. They did not expect the questions and could not on the sudden qualify their answers, and so were caught. My lord treasurer was satisfied they were a parcel of party knaves that came to hinder the king's business; so the bill, which had like to have been given up, was determined to go on.

380. In the passing this bill, the work lay wholly upon Sir Dudley North to satisfy the house, as he did by un-

folding the nature of the tax, declaring his estimates and making the consequent practice at the Custom-house understood. And at the committee, when the bill was gone over paragraph by paragraph, he sat by the table with the draught and a pen in his hand dictating amendments in numerous instances; and divers of the old members were diverted by seeing a fresh man, and half foreigner, act his part in parliament so well. And his schemes being well judged and built upon truths well known to him he maintaining his character as to candour and sincerity to a scruple, he had confidence and stood buff against all the reflections made at him; and at times refelled them. And, as he passed to and fro, he was spoke to and heard others speaking in a clamorous way as if they were not satisfied of his allegations. This made him in public as well as private discourse make his defiance against any that should show, by the Custom-house books, which any one might inspect, or otherwise that he had prevaricated in any punctilio or misrepresented any facts to the house. So, through much contention and opposition the bill passed.

381. Having mentioned the difficulties that were pretended necessarily to have fallen out in the execution of this act, by a drawback upon the export, I shall here remember what happened as to that. The commissioners met to consult in what method they should dispose their accounts so as to have them ready at all times, in order to adjust the sums to be paid at shipping off any of those goods. The comptroller of the accounts was at a loss. But Mr. Dickenson, at that time a commissioner, and thought to understand the practice of the Custom-house as well as any that belonged to it, proposed a sort of post-book to be kept in which the merchants should have their accounts; and all the duty of goods imported should stand in their debt (for the act gave time for payment) and the duty of goods exported, to their credit; so it would be readily known what the merchant owed or was due to him. But Sir Dudley North was utterly against this method; because, for want of order of time in entering and leisure in posting, errors would slip so fast that they would soon be in utter confusion. Whereupon he proposed to keep the

account by way of Dr. and Cr., entering every parcel in the day; and then, having nothing else in their heads, post the items to their proper accounts; and so they would not be in any hurry but also have a balance to check the whole. But the commissioners generally liked Mr. Dickenson's way best; and so it went. But, after some time passed, the commissioners calling for the drawback books, the clerks brought a fair journal and ledger, as Sir Dudley North had proposed; and, being asked why they made that alteration, they answered that experience showed them the other way would not do. For they had no check nor government of the account; and writing postwise at the same time as the dispatch was made, in the very first week they were so confounded with mistakes that they were forced to write all over again and go on in this method. So apt are some works to do themselves; for the practice soon demonstrates the easier methods and directs how to retrench pains and establish compendiums. And, in this matter, Sir Dudley North showed a temper in not making an opposition and troubling the Treasury about their methods of account, because he thought his own way better than theirs; but let them make the experiment, verily thinking they must come to his way at last.

382. There was a law passed, or rather was continued this parliament, called the coinage. This was a certain tax laid to pay for coining money; whereby any man who brought into the mint bullion, took out coined money reduced to sterling, weight for weight. Sir Dudley North was infinitely scandalised at the folly of this law, which made bullion and coined money par; so that any man might gain by melting; as when the price of bullion riseth, a crown shall melt into five shillings and sixpence; but, on the other side, nothing could ever be lost by coining; for, upon a glut of bullion, he might get that way too and upon a scarcity, melt again; and no kind of advantage by increase of money, as was pretended, like to come out. The lord treasurer gave some of the banker goldsmiths, and Sir Dudley North, a meeting. Charles Duncomb, a great advance, had whispered somewhat in his lordship's ear that made him inclinable to the bill. Sir Dudley North

reasoned with them against it beyond reply ; and then the argument was, " Let there be money my lord, by G—d let there be money." The reasons why this scheme prevailed, were first, that the crown got by the coinage duty ; next, that the goldsmiths who gained by the melting trade were advancers to the Treasury and favourites. The country gentlemen are commonly full of one profound mistake ; which is, that if a great deal of money be made they must, of course have a share of it ; such being the supposed consequence of what they call plenty of money. So little do assemblies of men follow the truth of things in their deliberations ; but shallow unthought prejudices carry them away by shoals. In short, the bill passed ; and the effects of it have been enough seen and felt ; however the evil hath been since, in some sort but not wholly, remedied.

383. Another thing which gave him great offence, was the currency of clipped money. He looked upon coined money as merchandize, only (for better proof and convenience) used as a scale, having its supposed weight signed upon it to weigh all other things by ; or, as a denomination apt for accounts. But, if the weight of it differed from its stamp it was not a scale but a cheat, like a piece of goods with a content stampt and divers yards cut off. And as to the fancy that common currency might reconcile the matter, he thought that when a man takes a thing called a shilling, putting it off, it is also called a shilling nominally true ; but as to the deficiency, it is no other than a token or leather money, of no intrinsic, by what name soever it be called ; and that all markets will be regulated accordingly ; for, as money is debased, prices rise, and so it all comes to a reckoning. This was seen by guineas, which, in the currency of clipped money rose to be worth thirty (clipped) shillings. Sir Dudley North was resolved, that, if ever he sat in another sessions of parliament he would bid battle to this public illusion. And, being full of the subject, he eased his mind by laying down his reasons upon paper ; and the fancy took him to do it in the form of a speech in the House of Commons ; though if he had had twenty speeches beforehand he could not have rehearsed one of them as they were penned, but must, as his use was, fall directly upon the point *ex re natâ*, and

as the reason of things and the quality of the debate prompted. He could improve his notions by thinking; but he could not confine himself to any premeditated composure.

384. He knew indeed that he stood alone; and, except some, and not many, of his fellow merchants, scarce any person appeared to join with him. Corruption, self-interest, and authority, he knew were winds that would blow in his face; but yet he believed his reasons were no less impetuous, and that he should be able to impress them; and that, being once understood, the business would make its own way. But the parliament in which he served was dissolved; and he came no more within that pale. But afterwards, finding that the grievance of clipped money became insupportable, and with design that, since he could not, some other persons might push for a regulation, as well of this as of some other grievances relating to trade in general, and to incite them to it, he put his sense in the form of a pamphlet, and, sitting the convention (or some time after it was turned into a parliament) in 1691, published it, printed for J. Basset, and entitled "Discourses upon Trade, principally directed to the cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Encrease of Money."¹

¹ To this work Mr. McCulloch has referred in his "*Discourse on the Science of Political Economy.*" (p. 37.)

"Sir Josiah Child, (whose work, though it is founded on the principles of the mercantile system, contains many sound and liberal views,) Sir William Petty, and Sir Dudley North, are the most distinguished of the economical writers of the 17th century. The latter not only rose above the established prejudices of his time, but had sagacity enough to detect the more refined and less obvious errors that were newly coming into fashion. His tract, entitled '*Discourses on Trade, principally directed to the cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Encrease of Money,*' published in 1691, contains a much more able statement of the true principles of commerce than any that had then appeared. He is, throughout, the intelligent advocate of all the great principles of commercial freedom. He is not, like the most eminent of his predecessors, well informed on one subject and erroneous on another. His system is consistent and complete. He shows that, in commercial matters, nations have the same interest as individuals; and forcibly exposes the absurdity of supposing that any trade which is advantageous to the merchant can be injurious to the public. His opinions respecting the imposition of a seignorage on the coinage of money, and the expediency of sumptuary laws, then in great favour, are equally enlightened.

385. This came out long before the attempt in parliament to have all the money new coined ; for which an act passed, since put in execution. But of the two ways, exposed by Sir Dudley North, the fabricators of that bill chose the worst ; for they threw the loss of the clipped money upon the public by a tax, and gave six months time for folks to bring in what was clipped. This six months

" I shall subjoin, from the preface of this tract, an abstract of the general propositions maintained in it.

" That the whole world, as to trade, is but one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons.

" That the loss of a trade with one nation is not that only, separately considered, but so much of the trade of the world rescinded and lost, for all is combined together.

" That there can be no trade unprofitable to the public ; for if any prove so, men leave it off : and, wherever the traders thrive, the public of which they are a part thrive also.

" That to force men to deal in any prescribed manner, may profit such as happen to serve them, but the public gains not, because it is taking from one subject to give to another.

" That no laws can set prices in trade, the rates of which must and will make themselves. But when such laws do happen to lay any hold, it is so much impediment to trade, and therefore prejudicial.

" That money is merchandize, whereof there may be a glut, as well as a scarcity, and that even to an inconvenience.

" That a people cannot want money to serve the ordinary dealing, and more than enough they will not have.

" That no man will be the richer for the making much money, nor any part of it, but as he buys it for an equivalent price.

" That the free coinage is a perpetual motion found out, whereby to melt and coin without ceasing, and so to feed goldsmiths and coiners at the public charge.

" That debasing the coin is defrauding one another, and to the public there is no sort of advantage from it ; for that admits no character, or value, but intrinsic.

" That the sinking by alloy or weight is all one.

" That exchange and ready money are the same ; nothing but carriage and re-carriage being saved.

" That money exported in trade is an increase to the wealth of the nation ; but spent in war and payments abroad, is so much impoverishment.

" In short, that all favours to one trade or interest is an abuse, and cuts off so much profit from the public."

" Unluckily this admirable tract never obtained any considerable circulation. There is good reason, indeed, for supposing that it was designedly suppressed. At all events it speedily became excessively scarce ; and I am not aware that it has ever been referred to by any subsequent writer on commerce."

time, as he prophesied, was doubtless well employed, but not for the making the old money wider. If there was one before, there were ten after, that clipped heartily ; knowing that, however they clipped the coin, they should have whole money at the mints for it.

386. I well remember what a fame attended the accomplishment of this work (ill done as it was), and as done, without more, deservedly ; for better and worse in the means is not to be reflected on, when a great good is obtained in the end. And, not to derogate any honour from the authors, what is true may be remembered, which is, that money went to foreign markets, and would not (as at home) pass by a stamp or denomination, but must be weighty ; and, whatever good to the people was intended, yet the foreign occasion made it necessary. And as for the undertaking, there were no mountains to be got over, as at other times had been, when nothing would have made the people start and boggle like touching their money ; for, here, those that were to receive demanded and had power to sustain it. For this reason the honour had been much greater if it had been carried by strength of reason, upon new discoveries, against the strongest of prejudices and interests mistaken, as Sir Dudley North intended to have done. And whether any use of his pamphlet was made or not, (as I guess there was, because one of the ways he proposed was taken and divers mints planted about, as he intended to have insinuated) : it is certain the pamphlet is, and hath been ever since, utterly sunk, and a copy not to be had for money. And if it was designedly done, it was very prudent ; for the proceeding is so much reflected on there for the worse, and a better showed, though not so favourable to abuses, as doth not consist with that honour and *eclat*, as hath been held forth upon the occasion.

387. Sir Dudley North was much scandalized at the laws made in England for the poor, under which moneys were collected all over England, by parish rates, for their maintenance ; and he had also formed a design for the disclosing his mind in the House of Commons, concerning that constitution, by¹ collecting materials in writing (as he had

¹ [The substance of these papers, together with some farther considerations relating to the laws for the poor, and the consequences of

done before, but more formally, touching clipped money), which he should have used in a debate, if the house had fallen upon any thing relating to it. But the dissolution came in the way and spoiled all. And discourses upon such subjects used to be frequent in the conversation between these brothers, where the general good of England was as seriously and sincerely deliberated as in the parliament-house itself. Whatever may be thought, I am sure I do not hyperbolize in this; since it was in my good stars to be an eye and an ear witness of what I affirm.

388. But now we must come to the greatest blow that could have befall Sir Dudley North; and that was the sickness and death of his best brother the Lord Keeper. A full account of which is to be found in that noble person's life. His lordship had made his three brothers executors and guardians. Sir Dudley North took upon him to act with all the vigour and diligence of a faithful and good trustee. In the first place he gave orders for the funeral, and then took coach and went with the great seal (the officers all attending) to Windsor, and there put it into the king's hands, who not long after delivered it to the Lord Jeffries. Then he returned to Wroxton, dispatched the funeral, put the family in a method, and returned to London. The children, that fell under his care, were the Lord Guilford, who was at Winchester school, where he was continued; the two youngers were also well placed, and so continued during Sir Dudley's life.

389. But, besides this guardianship, upon the death of the Lord Keeper North, there devolved upon him an immense charge by the executorship and trust of the three children's fortunes. The younger brother, Charles, had but two thousand pounds given him; the sister had four thousand pounds. But, to have done with these; at the full ages, the guardians put into the hands of the one four thousand pounds and of the other six thousand pounds, besides all the charges of their education; which was not a common guardian's account. As for the capital of the Lord Guilford's estate, it consisted of the estates which had

them, are set down in the form of a pamphlet by the honourable author of this work, and may see the light if opportunity should offer.]—*Note in First Edit.*

belonged to the family of the Popes, some that his lordship had purchased in Essex, and, in money, about thirty-two thousand pounds to be laid out in land. Sir Dudley North, in the first place, set the house in order, making inventories, disposing and registering, so as afterwards a ready recourse might be had to any thing that was left. He adjusted the steward's accounts and left his orders. He dispatched the furniture of the great house in London, which the successor, the Lord Jeffries, did not think fit to take; and some he sent down, and sold some, and some with the writings, &c. he transferred to his own house; and there he dedicated a room peculiarly to this trust, and suffered no other affairs to come into it. And he gave a good reason for so doing; for if a man has several mangeries upon his hands and the books and papers of them lie together, confusion is apt to grow not only among them but in his head, which will not readily run from the one to the other. But if they lie in several rooms the former is avoided; and, upon the very entrance into the room, the walls and mere form of things lying about bring the business into one's mind and make an artificial train of thinking: and whoever deals in great matters will find the benefit of this economy.

390. He procured a set of books, such as merchants use, and in them he kept the account of this trust in a mercantile way completely. He had his waste, journal, and ledger; and into these books came the sums from the steward's account; interest money and all the outgoings were entered, and proper accounts in them were framed, to keep the several interests distinct; so that at all times the books were an account renderable of every branch, and every person's interest that could be required. At the young lord's full age, the books themselves, in which stood every farthing accountable in proper place, were exhibited for a render of his accounts. But this form not being so obvious as the Exchequer way, all charge together and all discharge together, the young lord desired of the surviving guardians, that he might have such an account made in that manner. He was told that it was mere pains and writing; and a man of arts in accounts must be employed to do it and be paid for it. He thereupon set his auditor to work, who,

upon view of the books, showed him his credits, his debts, in all his concerns, and told him he might be satisfied for nothing better could be done. This method, I presume, hath not been usual with executors and guardians since (as the poet hath it) "the ghosts of testators left walking."

391. In the conduct of this trust he had little trouble; for he accounted his pains none. Trouble is when there is want of peace and quietness in the pains-taking: else, the obtaining the good end sought answers all the labour that tends directly to procure it. Sir Dudley North thought it best to buy land with the money as soon as he could. I remember he had a fierce dispute with his testator in his lifetime upon that very point. He advised his lordship to lay out his money in land as fast as he could. "I will not buy land," said the other, "unless I can find good estates and pennyworths." Sir Dudley urged that he was in a great mistake; for if his money was laid out in his lifetime, he would have the assistance of all those and not a few who desired of all things to serve and oblige him; and, what was much more, the benefit of his own knowledge and skill as well in the law as in other respects. And if land must be bought, it would certainly be worse done than if he did it himself; for all those advantages would be wanting to any trustees he could make. He was convinced of it; but men in great places who are courted with offers of services, cannot but think they may compass such matters upon better terms than other men. For there being abroad many good pennyworths, they conclude that for respect or officiousness some will be brought to them. It is certain the error was proved in his case; for, though good purchases were made, he in his lifetime would have made better. It was one of Sir Dudley North's maxims which may be ordinary to hear observed among merchants, "When a thing is fit to be done, do it as well as the time allows." As, if it be reasonable for a merchant to sell or to buy, do it at the current. Because the loss and inconvenience, by not doing is much greater than the circumstances of price or value, between one time and another.

392. But now we must be serious, and mount towards the court and the transactions thereabouts, which I shall

touch upon so far as concerns my subject. After the king had most unadvisedly and precipitously dissolved his parliament and had promoted Jeffries to the great seal ; and the Lord Keeper North, a mortal obstacle, out of the way ; what should hinder the great seal from sending forth commissions, not only of war but of peace and lieutenancy, with *non obstantes* in the body of them against the test laws ? And so it was ; persons unqualified came into all commissions. And what general discontents this made if not remembered may easily be conceived. The next work was to make fair weather with a new parliament ; and, in order thereunto, to get members chosen that would comply and take those troublesome tests out of the way. The English side of this famous managey (for what foreigners were concerned, or how, I know not) was the famous triumvirate ; the Lord Chancellor Jeffries, the Lord Sunderland (who they say, as a poor penitent knocked at the mass chapel door and was reconciled), and Sir Nicholas Butler. The methods these took, were partly local and partly personal. (1. The local part was to be executed by regulating, or rather corrupting, corporations that had right of election, by putting out and in, mayors, recorders, burgesses, &c. ; and where they were stiff, by coming upon them with *quo warrantos* and the terror of charges. Those that would surrender and renew *ad normam curiae*, had peace. And, for this end, they had runners up and down who were called regulators ; and the committee of the aforesaid counsellors were called the committee of regulations. As to the counties, those were too big to be thus tampered with and were left to the second scheme.

393. 2. Persons. I shall pass by the office, required of the lord lieutenants, to catechise the gentry all over England touching their good-will to this project, supposing all the country commissions would be regulated accordingly ; and come directly to court ; where it was ordered that, in each ministrition, the chief should catechise the underlings to know who were willing to repeal and who not, supposing that a general reform would go accordingly. But it was not so ; but done to the intent that the consenters, by engagements to his majesty in person, might be riveted and so to be depended upon in parliament. Upon this

wise scheme, my lord chancellor undertook the province of the law, and sent for not only the king's servants but every considerable practiser. My Lord Godolphin, as head of the Treasury, sent for all the revenue men and took their answers. Sir Dudley North, as a commissioner of the Customs, came in upon this list. When he came before his lordship, and had heard the questions and a world of discourse in a persuasive way, he remembered an old Turkish saying, viz. "that a man is to say 'no,' only to the devil." He answered, therefore, "that he was always a faithful subject and servant to his majesty and would do all he could for his majesty's service :" or to that effect. This was taken for a violent tendency, if not a concession. But, coming before the king, and being asked if he would vote so and so or not ; he answered, positively and finally, "that he could not, and therefore would not, pretend to tell what he should do upon any question proposed in parliament, if he had the honour to sit there, till he had heard the debate." But this was clothed in terms of the greatest submission that could be. He was asked the same more than once. But in sum his answer was the same. He was told "that this was trifling ; for he could not pretend to be a stranger to a matter which had been the town-talk so long. He might depend upon it that nothing new could be alleged in the house which he had not heard before." To all which, urged upon him over and over again, he added nothing but that, "If he were to die that moment, he would make no other answer." The noble lord there, was strangely surprised and confounded at this perseverance in a denial, as was understood ; for he had, as I guess, valued himself for securing Sir Dudley North. The king showed no tokens of his displeasure ; nor did he in any case when the persons appeared respectful and he thought them sincere. But his lordship resented it sufficiently ; for he never was well with him, nor ever showed him a fair countenance after that.

394. I must touch also the circumstances of the following times,¹ because my subject is concerned in them ; however I shall be but short. The preparations for the embark-

¹ See Appendix, No. II.

ment in Holland, were very great ; and after it was known to be for England, a great bustle was made to resist it. Those that had fled into Holland were rampant and were so free as fully to declare their equitable purposes. For they gave out that all the Tory party, meaning those who had acted by law against the fanatics, should at once be attainted and their estates taken away by parliament. Nor should those of the dead be exempted any more than those of the living ; and they were so kind as to name the late Lord Keeper North and Sir Dudley North in particular. This was told to Sir Dudley North, as certain news out of Holland, by such as meant him well ; but he, as his way was to slight extravagant threats, minded it not. But it appeared to him afterwards that those who had fled into Holland had retained so much of their Rye scheme as really to intend, and it was not for want of will that they did not execute it. But after the king's army was quite broke and his person far enough off, things did not proceed with so much contention as to make a turn by victory but rather by accommodation. And King William, having secured his own game, would not roil it to gratify them.

395. But now the prince is landed and come as far as Exeter ; and from thence Sir Dudley North had letters with preambles of friendship and conclusions with advice to run away ; and grounded on the terrible denunciations passed among the men of power there. Many matters were alleged ; but chiefly that of taking upon him the office of sheriff without title ; which caused so much blood to be drawn. But he was so stupid as to laugh at this also. It is to be presumed they used the same course with others : for now there began to be great scampering ; and of some with reason enough, who were obnoxious and had more to answer for than could be excused ; chiefly such as had risen into posts by flattery upon the points of the tests ; as Baron Jenner, Bishop Cartwright,¹ Chief Justice Herbert, and some others.

¹ Of this profligate churchman, Burnet has left the following character. "He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous ; and by the great liberties he allowed himself he fell under much scandal of the worst sort. He had set himself long to raise the king's authority above law ; which he said was only a method of government to which

The two solicitors, Graham and Burton,¹ were taken and brought back; and much ado there was about who went and who staid. The faction was thought to be cruel and fierce, and, coming into a swing of uncontrolled power, none could say what mischief they would not do. But they themselves, knowing that there was nothing criminal to charge upon those they had most spleen against, endeavoured by menace and frightening to make them run away; and many that did so were taken and felt the smart of it; but of those that stayed even the greatest malefactors had little or no hurt. The former suffered under a presumption of guilt, by imprisonment without trial, or so much as being accused. So that here flight and condemnation were one and the same thing. And there is not a single instance of any one person tried for any of the horrid crimes that brought on the Revolution.

396. At this time Sir Dudley North and myself were seldom asunder but walked about from one bustle to another to observe what was doing; and were in all public places to see how matters wrought. For he, according to his true character, so long as he could justify his actions feared nothing, and scarce thought he had any concern in the turn more than any other man had. This was a foul disappointment to his enemies; for they made a sure account that he, a ringleader of the Tory party, must needs run away, and then they had him fast in prison at least. Once we walked together into the Exchange; and one, that stood in a company, said, "What! is not he gone yet?" We passed on and took no notice. He was looked at almost as much as when he was named sheriff; and the wonder that he was not gone was as great as when he was to be sheriff: and it was in his good stars that he secured to himself a safety by staring his enemies in the face.

397. He was in the Customs at the Revolution, and continued so for some time after; for that collection was not

kings might submit if they pleased, but their authority was from God absolute, and superior to law, which they might exert as often as they found it necessary for the ends of government." (*Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 1186.)

¹ "Fitter men to have served in a court of Inquisition than in a legal government." (*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 878.)

to be disturbed till the main was safe. But it was not long before the men of merit put in for posts, whether fit or not ; and the Customs was a jolly commission that would serve five or six of them ; and if one or two old ones were left to teach the new ones their trade it was enough. And, after the commission was renewed and most of the old ones, of whom he was one, were left out, Sir John Werden, that would often ask for a light to be struck (as I touched before), became the ruling commissioner.

398. After he was left out of the commission, he was reduced to his first principles, a mere merchant of the Levant Company in London ; and his post of alderman also dropped from him : for, when the judgment in the *quo warranto* was set aside by the parliament, the city was put in a state referring to a time before he was chosen ; which changed the whole frame of the court of aldermen. Then, hating idleness, he fell again to buying of cloth. He had formerly joined with other merchants in building three defensible ships ; for piracies in the Straits had made trading in small vessels too hazardous ; and the employment of these ships engaged him deeper in adventure than otherwise he had been. But after the Revolution things grew worse and worse ; because the wars with the French gave them an advantage over our Turkey trade ; and, both at home and abroad they met with us. One of his great ships with a considerable adventure, homeward bound and little insured, was taken by the French : but yet he traded on ; and it appeared his estate was less by ten thousand pounds than it was when the French war first broke out. I believe he had less persevered in trade at that time if he had not had a consideration of his house in Constantinople, where his brother had a ragion, and he had his apprentice, Fairclough, to whom he thought himself in justice bound to send out business especially when others withdrew ; else they must have sunk. But so many corrections as he received, one after another, abated his mettle ; and his family increasing, and children coming forward, whom he considered beyond himself ; and, what was worst of all, he grew liable to infirmities, especially the phthisic, which made him not so active in his person as he had been and desired to be. All which together made him think of getting an estate with a

commodious seat in the country, and to employ himself, as he declared he would do, by ploughing and sowing amain. But in this particular his good fortunes failed him ; for, although he had viewed divers great estates and offered great prices, as twenty-four and twenty-five years purchase, he never was accepted ; and, within a day or two after he fell sick, a time was appointed for us to go down and agree for Besthorp in Norfolk. If he had been so happy as to have accomplished a purchase some time before, I believe it had prolonged his life.

399. But I shall be accused for a concealer if I do not relate how the houses of parliament dealt with him and his shrievalty before he had his *quietus* in that affair. After the convention summoned by the prince's letters thought fit to be a parliament, and the kingdom settled and declared to be of him and his consort Mary, and all things thought to stand fast and firm in the new government ; then the old faction thought they had the ball at their toe, the town was their own and who should contradict them ? And now was the time to lay open the bad actions of the Tories, and not only to bring them to condign punishment but also to make amends for former injuries out of the estates of the dead and of the living of them ; and all to be done not by any formal, fastidious course of law or trial but by act of parliament. And accordingly two inquisitions were set on foot ; as is already related in the Examen.¹ It is pretty apparent that, in the factious scheme, both these aimed at Sir Dudley North upon whose character and circumstances the matter had hinged ; though Sir John Moor, and others, were thought fit to be taken in.

400. I shall begin with the Lords who, taking it for granted that those persons were murdered, ordered this inquiry how and by what means. This amounted to an inquiry whether they were murdered or not ; and so in the proceeding it proved. But it is a common thing in parliament to inquire after persons when the facts are but presumed. This committee sat and sent for all persons that

¹ The object of the enquiries was to discover who were answerable for the deaths of Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and other eminent Whigs who had been executed. The committee was popularly called "The Murder Committee."

were any ways concerned in the proceedings after the Rye plot discovered, or were but suspected to know any thing of them ; and examined them and whomsoever else they thought fit to send for upon oath. Amongst the rest Sir Dudley North was sent for ; of whose examination I have little to say here, because it is particularly related in the Examen :¹ only, to show how much he was under the displeasure of some people, I will observe that when questions were asked, as divers were skirting upon the main, and he answered fully and clearly to them ; while he was talking (on one side of him), "That's a lie," said one, and (on another side) "That's false," said another ; and such interruptions he had that, if he had been over-modest, he must have been abashed. But after this one examination he was dismissed, and heard no more from that committee.

401. After the House of Commons had done with Sir John Moor, they sent for Sir Dudley North ; and I believe some sport was expected, for the galleries were full and so were all corners about the house. I had my post in the gallery, where I could see as well as hear : and the famous Titus Oates was not far off ; for he was a person that greatly interested himself in these affairs. Mr. Paul Foley was in the chair ; and when Sir Dudley North came in and stood upon the floor, "Sir," said he, "for what reason did you take upon you the office of sheriff, which did not belong to you ?" He answered in like manner as before. But there was little to the purpose in all this ; for the design of all these examinations was to get persons named, that there might be some hold of them for purposes that lay behind.

402. None durst ask him touching his brother the Lord Keeper North ; for the gentlemen generally would not have borne it. But yet the business hung upon expectation to get something out of him ; and there were divers mutterings and murmurings about odd questions about to be asked ; and some near the chair were very busy, whispering with the chairman. Mr. Francis Guin, one that the examinant knew to be of his side and that he might trust

¹ P. 620. The examination of Sir Dudley North is given from the Lords' Journals in *Howell's State Trials*, vol. ix. p. 969.

him, moved that, since he had declared the court of aldermen unanimously required him to serve as being legally chosen, he might be asked what aldermen were present. The chairman nodded for his answer; and then Sir Dudley North turned him round and, with his cane, pointed to the five aldermen that had sided with the faction, and named them audibly one after another, who were all present and made no objection. This was not well; and Sir W. Williams, a cunning parliament-man, fearing worse, thought to get rid of their customer with as good a colour as might be contrived; and, taking umbrage at some little stir there was about asking questions to make him accuse his own self (and Sir Dudley North himself had begun to say, "he hoped that, being among gentlemen," &c.) standing up, "Mr. Foley," said he, "you had best have a care, you have an honourable gentleman before you, that you do not ask him," &c. It seems he thought the going off upon that scruple carried an *innuendo* which might serve their turn better than any thing they were like to get by questions, since those already asked had turned upon them. But those of his party did not understand his reach, and calling out for questions, interrupted him; and that irritated his Welsh blood and made him fall foul on his own party; and there was noise and altercation for some time, upon that occasion, amongst them.

403. But, there being some cessation, Mr. Dutton Colt made silence by speaking: "Mr. Foley," said he, "since this gentleman is so tender that he must not be asked questions concerning himself, we will let that go, and presume him guilty of all that has been alleged against him. But I hope I may ask him a question concerning somebody else." At this, Sir Dudley North, knowing the man and expecting he would have named his brother the Lord Keeper, began to warm and his blood to mend its pace: and, had that been perceived, any one that knew him would have expected something extraordinary to follow. Then Mr. Colt went on, and, "I ask him," said he, "if Secretary Jenkins did not come down to the city and persuade him to take the office of sheriff upon him?" "You hear the question," said the chairman. After which there was a

profound silence, expecting the answer. All which time Sir Dudley North was gathering as much breath as he could muster, and then out came a long “N-o-o-o-o-o!” so loud as might have been heard up to the House of Lords. This was so violent and unexpected that I could see a start of every one in the house, all at the same instant, as if each had had a dash of cold water in his face: and immediately all called out, “Withdraw;” and my neighbour Titus Oates, being, as I suppose, frustrated of his expectations, cried out, “Aw Laard, aw Laard, aw, aw!” and went his way.¹ Sir Dudley North went out, and never was called upon more about this affair. I might here enlarge upon the subject of good fortune attending gallant actions and behaviour, and the perdition of evil-doing and then sneaking; but that matter lies here gross and obvious so will let that pass. I shall only add this note to acquit the prosecutors of acting purely upon malice, that covetousness had the greatest share in the motives; for, if it had been voted that the election had been illegal and North and Rich no sheriffs; then had followed bills to charge the estates of all that were concerned to repair the losses the party suffered in those times. And this was, nevertheless, in some degree attempted by petitioning for leave to bring a bill into the House of Lords to reimburse the fines out of the estates of the Lord Keeper North, Sir Dudley North, &c. This petition was presented by the Lord Stamford, who had been chairman to the committee of murder. And he, among other tropes, said that “these men had been murdered too,” meaning in their estates; but, he stuttering, these words came out so broken, that they were not minded: but my Lord Weymouth went to the table and, taking up the petition, moved that “an inquiry might be had to find who had counterfeited these dead men’s hands.” This jest made some lords smile and no order was made upon that petition. The like petition was presented to the House of Commons, and without effect; but as the whole series of this affair is fully set forth in the Examen, I refer the reader to that book and shall say nothing more of it here.

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 351, n.

404. But after this examination was over, it was given out that Sir Dudley North should not escape so; but one way or other he should certainly be come at: and it was hoped that, if he was substantially terrified, he might bite at the bait of taking some of his enemies off. Which done, were it friendly or corruptly, they would have promulgated it and he had lost his character and, consequently, his friends, which was a good preparation for what was to follow: for it is a method used by cunning men in parliament driving against persons, when they cannot be directly laid hold on, to lay traps and snares to make them hurt themselves; and so they attain the end obliquely. We had the unhappiness of an elder brother who had attached himself to the faction¹ and, for that reason and other family differences we corresponded little with him. But during these stirs, for aught I know meaning well but deceived by men of his party, he comes to me and tells me that "his brother would certainly be undone; and himself came out of friendship that he might know it. He conversed with those who were bent upon it and both would and could do it; and those were Hampden,² and some others he named. But he had found one, and the only way to save him." "And what is that?" quoth I. He answered, "To apply himself." I asked what he meant by "applying himself." He answered, "by going to some principal men on the other side, and so interest or soften them; without which he was infallibly ruined. I said I believed he intended to justify himself and thought of no other course. "Ay, there's it," said he, "he will now go and, by justifying himself be ruined." So we parted with much dissatisfaction on his part. It is certain nothing would have ruined him sooner than such a sneaking action as this had been. I once told this story to the best of old courtiers, Colonel Werden; and "Ay," said he, "justifying, that's but one trick;" alluding to the fable of the Fox and the Cat.

405. I cannot part with the subject of this examination without observing again, as I have done before, what

¹ Charles Lord North.

² Richard Hampden, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1690.

sycophant historians will not be so just as to set forth nor posterity readily believe. And that is, that, notwithstanding both houses of parliament, with full bent and zeal towards a party, having nothing above to check or restrain, but what rather encouraged them to inquisit the actions of their adversaries in the time when they prevailed ; and testing upon oath every person and persons, officers as well as others, as far as any petulant partyman would suggest or require ; and although the affairs were all great and important and done in a strain of opposition and contention, pursuant to current methods of law, yet there was not found the least corruption or peccadillo of irregularity in any of them : and, if any instance of the like can be shown in history, I quit my observation.

406. This double inquest, of the houses in parliament, respecting the sheriffwick of London, and the pretences in parliament grounded thereupon, gave Sir Dudley North much trouble but no great anxiety ; because he knew there was no foundation on such accounts to charge him criminally or pecuniarily, to which he had not answers incontrovertible. But there was another matter which, proving as his enemies had calculated and suggested, had given them the utmost advantage against him ; but by good stars they were mistaken. It was the levying the duties of tonnage and poundage upon the accession of King James II. before it was given by a parliament ; a full account of which is to be found in the Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford.¹ The members at Westminster that were eager upon finding faults with former administrations, and the factious party that had a stonger inclination to fasten upon Sir Dudley North than upon any other minister or agent whatsoever, had conceived a strong prejudice that he was in the Customs at the death of King Charles II., and accordingly that (for the grand offence of levying money upon the subject without act of parliament) they had him fast ; and they were so fond of the advantage that it was plain they were very loth to quit it : and it was the hardest thing in the world to persuade any of them that Sir Dudley North was then in the Treas-

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 375.

sury and not in the Customs, which I can best affirm that had the part of talking with and, if I could, of undeceiving many of them; for I found plainly I was not credited. The tendency of the party, as might be perceived by the common discourse of most people, was to set on foot an inquiry touching that fact of levying money, &c. And Sir Dudley North and his friends had perpetual alarms from that quarter, till direct accounts of those commissions made it plain it could not reach him; and then the whole design was dropped at once and no notice taken of it: and it was as good as declared that, if he had been concerned, it would have been pushed against him only, and not against any other commissioner of the Customs. Such partiality will men profess in combination; which a single person would not have the face to own.

407. Before I take this gentleman into pure privacy and show how he passed his time by himself, I shall take notice of some passages relating to his employment, to show with what prudence and untainted integrity he proceeded. He had a brother-in-law who made no small figure at court, the Earl of Yarmouth.¹ He was entitled to a farm in the Customs called the wood farm, which when first granted was a very great boon; but, as the importation of deals and timber from the northward increased, it became an immense profit and was said to have yielded, to that family, first and last, above one hundred thousand pounds. The present benefit was partly to the old countess and partly to the earl, with a trust declared upon it to pay the debts of the family. The work now was to obtain a renewal of that farm; the old lady solicited and the earl solicited; Sir Nicholas Butler² was declared in their interests; and now Sir Dudley North was come into the Customs all must go smooth. And Sir Nicholas Butler was so malicious as to tell them, that it was in Sir Dudley North's power to do it or to hinder it. This brought importunity enough upon him. It was not his way to fly in any one's face unprovoked or to give repulses till he had fairly reasoned

¹ He had married Sir Dudley North's sister Elizabeth, widow of Sir Robert Wiseman. See author's preface to the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 6.

² See *supra*, § 362, n.

with them ; and then, if the concerned urged him farther he was apt to be rough. He had examined the books of the Custom-house and found, by former reports and minutes of the Treasury, that, for unanswerable reasons, all the out-farms were resolved to be taken in and that the order and security of the collection depended upon it ; for to have officers dealing in the Customs that the commissioners had no control upon, was like so many leaks at which they could not answer what might run out. He showed all this to his brother-in-law and discoursed Butler upon it ; and he could not deny but that it was a thing determined which they could not controvert, if any references came to them ; and that it was in vain to attempt by favour to break into such a management as this was. " But still," says Butler to his clients, " if Sir Dudley will it may be done." And at last, the best thing he could do was when they said any thing of it not to mind them but to pass on to other discourse. If there were any profit or advantage to the crown the forms might have been dispensed with ; but against the interest of the crown he would not join in any project whatsoever.

408. There was an ancient gentleman of the family of the Berties, who was patent secretary to the Customs ; and he had officiated there some time ; but was altogether incapable of the business, which required the most expert secretary that could be found who should be a man of method, quickness of dispatch that, in looking for one paper called for, should not as he did confound a hundred. But if he had sat there they must have been secretaries themselves ; for it was plain he could do nothing. Upon this, the commissioners determined to put another in his place that should pay him as much as he made of it ; and, if this would not do, some other course must be taken or they must shut up shop. This brought the whole family relation upon the commission, expostulating with them and stirring their interest at court. But their reasons were understood there ; they must have patience ; and what the commissioners had done must stand. Among others, Sir Dudley North's eldest brother came to him and, after much importunity, asked what reason he had to turn a relation out of his place. Sir Dudley North turned short, and

looking back at him, said, "Because he was a fool." And so went away.

409. He had another brother-in-law, one Mr. Foley,¹ whose father had been ironmonger to the navy for divers years and, after his death, he succeeded him. The method of the navy had been loose and, during the Dutch wars, great abuses passed and debts insuperable were contracted. I have heard say that the former contractor has had bills filed up as for goods delivered at the yards, to the value of five hundred pounds, and did not deliver one nail.² This debt growing too great possibly ever to be paid, the Treasury, in the reign of King Charles II. thought fit to postpone this debt and serve the then present occasion with ready money. There was no great justice in this; but what they called necessity came in the room of it: all that reign, and King James's reign, that debt stood desperate. But when Sir Dudley North came into the Treasury, Mr. Foley concluded he should obtain the favour to have his part and often made it a subject of discourse to his brother-in-law; but he told him, unless they could pay the whole, they could not pay him. For to single out one, and for favour pay him and let the rest still stand out unpaid, would be unjust and scandalously partial. And this solicitation ran up almost into a quarrel; but that signified little to the commissioner. But since the Revolution, I have heard the debt was bought by courtiers for half, and less, and put into the new loans by way of debentures and paid with interest to a farthing.

410. But now we have our merchant, sheriff, alderman, commissioner, &c. at home with us, a private person divested of all his mantlings; and we may converse freely with him in his family and by himself without clashing at all against any concern of the public. And possibly, in this capacity I may show the best side of his character; and, for the advantage of that design, shall here recount his retired ways of entertaining himself from his first coming from Constantinople to England. He delighted

¹ See preface to *Life of Lord Keeper*, § 6.

² The same charge is made against Mr. Foley in the Lord Keeper Guilford's "Account of divers signal Frauds in the Conduct and Disposition of the Public Revenues." (*Dalrymple, Appendix*, p. 89.)

much in natural observations and what tended to explain mechanic powers; and particularly that wherein his own concern lay, beams and scales, the place of the centres, the form of the centre-pins, what share the fulcrum, and what the force or the weight bore with respect to each other; and that he might not be deceived, had made proofs by himself of all the forms of scales that he could imagine could be put in practice for deceiving.

411. During the first sessions of parliament in the reign of King James II., he spoiled a hopeful project with a few words; which project some courtiers had hammered for profitable purposes to the public, no doubt to be passed into a law. And that was to have an office for the proving and sealing of all beams and scales. This had been like the aulnage that sell seals by the bushel; an office of mere profit, which succeeds in the nature of a tax upon the woollen manufactory. When he was told of it, he assured the concerned, that no man that bought or sold would trust a beam the more for their seal; because a slight fall puts the best beam out of order. And, for fear of such accidents, men weigh cross; which certainly exposes false scales; and merchants, though they buy abroad, weigh again at home; and there could be no assurance of scales without proof. So that project dropped.

412. I may with conformity mention here a detestation he had of all projects. Liberty and justice being his favourite patrons of trade. Once he was tempted by a great lord, his brother-in-law, then in an advanced post at court,¹ to come into a copper mine in America; which was held forth to be wonderful gainful, and nothing wanting to enter and take possession but a little stock which was proposed to be raised by selling of shares; and Sir Humphrey Edwin was the cashier, took the money and gave out the grants. "But is it so rich a thing as your lordship says?" said Sir Dudley. "Ay, i' God, is it," said the lord, "and will certainly yield cent. per cent. immediately, and afterwards not to be computed." Then Sir Dudley fell a laughing and said, "If it would yield five per cent. in one six months there could be no want of money

¹ The Earl of Yarmouth.

for such a gain that hundreds would skip at ; and if it were really worth any thing to a buyer, they would never come out of the city to the courtiers for money. The same nobleman had bought a sough, or drain, to a lead mine in the country near Wales, which was begun by one Vermuyden, but laid aside, alack, for want of a little money, but might be finished in three months, of which there was demonstration ; and there would be an Indies. The merchant was for giving his lordship nine months. No, the lord would not take it ; three was enough. The merchant begged him to take nine and it was pleasant to observe the controversy. But he might as safely have offered him nine years ; for it is not done yet. And, for all that, the sough hath had the honour to be often sold and to die, with the South Sea, a bubble at last. I have often on these occasions heard Sir Dudley North say, "*Fuggite gli gran partiti, Run away from great bargains.*" So I doubt he would have made but an indifferent South Sea merchant.

413. When he lived at Constantinople, I sent him a hint touching the barometer, of an experiment which might expose even to a direct view the manner how the air wrought upon the mercury, to raise or sink it, not without some discovery of the consequences with respect to wet and dry. He tried it at Constantinople ; and, after he came into England, we tried it together. It was no more but this. We erected a barometer, with the stagnum, in a Florence flask, and then, with wet bladders and ligatures upon the neck of the flask, and upon the tube, we stopped all communication between the exterior air, and that shut up in the flask. Then we cooled the flask artificially and the mercury sank at least six inches below its place ; and at the same time we perceived a mist to gather on the inside of the flask, till the drops began to be sensible and some ran down and showed water at the bottom. Then we heated the glass with warm water till we came to the most furious boiling water we could bring upon it. And the mercury immediately mounted, and rose at least six inches higher than its station ; and all the mist and water dried up and there was fair weather within. Then we pricked the bladder, and the mercury fell to its proper

station. I do not comment upon this experiment here, it being more proper in another design.

414. When he came first to England all things were new to him ; and he had an infinite pleasure in going about to see the considerable places and buildings about town. I, like an old dame with a young damsel, by conducting him had the pleasure of seeing them over again myself. And an incomparable pleasure it was ; for, at all remarkables he had ingenious turns of wit and morality as well as natural observations. But once I was very well pleased to see the power of habit, even in his mind, and apprehension of things. I carried him to Bridewell, where, in the hemp-house, there was a fair lady well habited, at a block. We got in and surveyed her : but the cur that let us in at the door, put on his touchy airs, expecting his sop at our going out, and spoke hoarse and loud. My gentleman could not, for his life, but be afraid of that fellow, and was not easy when we went in nor while we stayed ; for he confessed himself that the rascal was so like a Turkish chiaus, he could not bear him, and wondered at me for making so slight of him and his authority, and really fancied we should not get clear of him without some mischief or other. Such was indeed a necessary prudence at Constantinople : and not only in this, but in the cases of other merchants who had lived in Turkey, I have observed that if there were a crowd or a clutter in the street, to which most people go to see what is the matter, they always draw off for fear of being singled out to be beaten. In a cathedral church, I could scarce get my merchant to take a place with me ; but he would pull and correct me, as being too forward, and for fear of some inconvenience. Here is a consequence of living under absolute and rigorous lords. Whereas, amongst us, there is scarce any regard at all had to superior powers ; if I may term them such that cannot punish but in mood and figure and by due course of law.

415. He took pleasure in surveying the monument, and comparing it with mosque towers and what of that kind he had seen abroad. We mounted up to the top and, one after another, crept up the hollow iron frame that carries the copper head and flames above. We went out at a rising plate of iron that hinged, and there found convenient

irons to hold by. We made use of them, and raised our bodies entirely above the flames, having only our legs, to the knees, within ; and there we stood till we were satisfied with the prospects from thence. I cannot describe how hard it was to persuade ourselves we stood safe ; so likely did our weight seem to throw down the whole fabric. But the adventure at Bow Church was more extraordinary. For, being come to the upper row of columns, next under the dragon, I could go round between the columns and the newel ; but his corpulence would not permit him to do that : wherefore he took the column in his arm, and swung his body about on the outside ; and so he did quite round. Fancy, that in such a case would have destroyed many, had little power over his reason that told him there was no difficulty nor danger in what he did.

416. He was so great a lover of building, that St. Paul's, then well advanced, was his ordinary walk : there was scarce a course of stones laid, while we lived together, over which we did not walk. And he would always climb to the uppermost heights. Much time have we spent there in talking of the work, engines, tackle, &c. He showed me the power of friction in engines ; for, when a capstan was at work, he did but gripe the ropes between the weight and the fulcrum in his hand, and all was fast ; and double the number of men at the capstan, could not have prevailed against that impediment to have raised the stone till he let go. We usually went there on Saturdays, which were Sir Christopher Wren's days, who was the surveyor ; and we commonly got a snatch of discourse with him, who, like a true philosopher, was always obliging and communicative and, in every matter we inquired about, gave short but satisfactory answers. When we were upon Bow Steeple, the merchant had a speculation not unlike that of a ship, in the bay of Smyrna, seen from the mountains. Here the streets appeared like small trenches, in which the coaches glided along without any unevenness as we could observe. " Now this," said he, " is like the world. Who would not be pleased in passing so equably from place to place ? It is so when we look upon great men who, in their courses, at our distance seem to glide no less smoothly on ; and we do not perceive the many rude jolts, tossings, and wallow-

ings they feel ; as whoever rides in that coach feels enough to make his bones ache, of which, to our notice, there is no discovery. And farther," said he, "let not the difficulties that will occur in the way of most transactions, however reasonable, deter men from going on ; for here is a coach not one moment free from one obstruction or other ; and yet it goes on and arrives at last as was designed at first." He used to observe the ordinary decays of building, and where strength was most needed. He took notice that compass arches did not press uniformly ; for, at the key or crown, the joints at the upper sweep, or outside, pinched hard and gaped underneath ; and contrarily, at the shoulders, those underneath pinched and those above gaped ; and for that the material, as rubbed brick, usually crushed there ; and that the pinching below tends to rising. Wherefore, to secure a compass arch, it was necessary by weight, or some other means, to keep down the shoulders, which, rising, let the crown or key fall in. This sort of decay he observed in the great oval arches over the gates of the merchants' houses in Mincing-lane ; and how, by the example of them, at Powis House in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, they shouldered and keyed the portico arches with pieces of stone, because brick was not strong enough to bear the crush of such weights as lay upon it.

417. He observed that the great arches at the floor of St. Paul's, after the centres were struck, fell in twice ; and he was much puzzled to find out the reason of it ; which he did, and then fancied the builders themselves did not know it till after the second fall had showed it them. It seems such things were not to be talked of there and no subject of discourse with the workmen. The middle vault was cast in three, as a middle and side aisles ; and the moulds were parabolic ; so as the narrow aisles, on each side, keyed as high as the middle. Then it was apparent that the thrust of the middle arch bore upon the voids of the two sides ; and those, yielding but a little, let the middle break from its truth ; and then, down they must come. But, not only at St. Paul's but at many other places he had the like diversion ; for wherever there was a parcel of building going on he went to survey it ; and particularly the high buildings in Arlington-street, which

were scarce covered in before all the windows were wry-mouthed, the fascias turned SS, and divers stacks of chimneys sunk right down, drawing roof and floors with them ; and his point was to find out from whence all this decay proceeded. We had conversed so much with new houses that we were almost turned rope-dancers, and walked as familiarly upon joists in garrets, having a view through all the floors down to the cellar, as if it had been plain ground.

418. He had a great inclination to build a house for himself ; and to accommodate his designing capacity, he bought a plain table and a set of mathematical instruments ; and, however he might miss his aims, the charge was not lost for he left posterity behind him who have made better use of them than he ever would have done. But he drew and I drew and much altercation we had. But he never was blessed with ground in town or country to let him into the pleasure of that exercise. He had a mighty fancy for that convenience, which he had made for himself in Turkey, called an *odgera*, or fire-tight room ; with a stately adorned counting-house over it, to be done with all solid brick and stone ; so that, the doors secured (which were to be of iron) there could come no damage by fire to any thing in them. He was so kind as to come to view, and afterwards to pass a little time in the small tenement I bought ;¹ and our whole time was passed in surveying and projecting. The country people thought us conjurers, pretending to survey a ground by views at two stations without measuring a side or any part but from one station to another. So, at his brother's the Lord Keeper North's, at Wroxton, our time was spent much at the same rate.² These were, not only innocent, but active and healthful diversions, and (when spending the time is the chief point) the most commendable of any.

419. His domestic methods were always reasonable ; but towards his lady superlatively obliging. He was absent from her as little as he could, and that was being abroad ; but at home they were seldom asunder. When he had his great house, a little room near his chamber which they called

¹ Rougham Hall, Norfolk.

² See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 383.

a dressing-room was sequestered for the accommodation of both of them. She had her implements and he his books of account in large escritoires there ; and, having fixed a table and a desk, all his counting-house business was done there. The counting-house itself was below, where was accommodation for a man (but he took none, on account of merchandize, after he had sent Fairclough to Constantinople) and also a room within for the master ; and his brother, when in England, which was not long after his settlement there, used that. He kept a servant that wrote, and found him employment by copying, &c. Once he took a schoolmaster, of Bodicoat near Banbury, to be his butler (that was the style of his office), and coming once into the counting-house, he found an astrological scheme lying before this man. He took it, and “What is this for ?” said he. The fellow answered, “To know if he should prosper in his place.” “I’ll tell you,” said his master, tearing the paper to pieces. “If you behave yourself diligently and well you will prosper ; otherwise you will not.” The fellow was cured of his astrology and made a very good servant ; and, being preferred to the Customs at Bristol, a very good officer.

420. Here he reckoned with tradesmen, and paid and received what came into his own cash ; but he used the room above to wilder in his accounts ; and his wife used to wonder how it could be that he should have so much to do there. Once (as I hinted) the Custom-house accounts were brought there ; and he went to work with them, for making collections by which he might clearly solve the enigmas that came from the Treasury. He wallowed so much in those and with so much application, that his wife was afraid he would have run mad. There also he read such books as pleased him ; and (though he was a kind of a dunce at school) in his manhood he recovered so much Latin as to make him take pleasure in the best classics ; especially in Tully’s philosophics which I recommended to him. If time lay on his hands he would assist his lady in her affairs. I have come there and found him very busy in picking out the stitches of a dislaced petticoat. But his tenderness to his children was very uncommon, for he would often sit by while they were dressing and undressing

and would be assisting himself, if they were at any time sick or out of order. Once his eldest son, when about five years old, had a chillblain which an ignorant apothecary had converted into a wound ; and it was surgeon's work for near six months ; and the poor child relapsed into arms again till it was cured. But, after the methods were instituted, the father would dress it himself.

421. In that great house he had much more room than his family required. He had seldom any company except his lady's relations and those not long. He used his spare rooms for operations and natural experiments ; and one operation was a very useful one, and that was a fabric for vinegar. He managed that in three vessels. The first had the fruit, or whatever was the ground ; this was always foul. From hence he took into the next vessel, where it refined ; and out of that he drew into a third, and from thence took for use. The first was continually supplied with raisin stalks, warm water, &c. In this manner, after the course was begun, the house was supplied, with little or no charge, for several years.

422. He loved travelling but hated a coach, because it made him a prisoner and hindered his looking about to survey the country, in which he took a great pleasure ; and, for that reason, he loved a horse. I had a grave pad that fitted him, and he always desired the use of that sage animal, that was very sure and easy, but slow. While his wife's mother, the Lady Cann, lived at Bristol, he made annually a visit to her ; and, when I had the honour to serve as recorder there, I accompanied him. We joined equipages, and sometimes returned across the country to Wroxton, the residence of the late Lord Guilford. We had the care of affairs there, as trustees for the young Lord Guilford, who was sent abroad to travel ; and we thought it no disservice to our trust to reside upon the spot some time in summer ; which we did and had therein our own convenience, and charged ourselves in the accounts to the full value of ourselves and the diet for our horses. But, our way of living there being somewhat extraordinary, I think it reasonable to give an account of it. In the first place the lady had a standing quarrel with us ; for we had such a constant employ that she could have none

of her husband's company; and when she came to call him to dinner she found him as black as a tinker.

423. There was an old building which was formerly Hawk's mews. There we instituted a laboratory. One apartment was for wood-works and the other for iron. His business was hewing and framing, and, being permitted to sit, he would labour very hard; and in that manner he hewed the frames for our necessary tables. He put them together only with laps and pins; but so as served the occasion very well. We got up a table and a bench: but the great difficulty was to get bellows and a forge. He hewed such stone as lay about and built a hearth with a back, and, by means of water and an old iron which he knocked right down, he perforated that stone for the wind to come at the fire. What common tools we wanted we sent and bought, and also a leather skin, with which he made a pair of bellows that wrought over head, and the wind was conveyed by elder guns let into one another, and so it got to the fire. Upon finding a piece of an old anvil, we went to work and wrought all the iron that was used in our manufactory. He delighted most in hewing. He allowed me, being a lawyer as he said, to be the best forger. We followed the trade so constantly and close, and he coming out sometimes with a red short waistcoat, red cap, and black face, the country people began to talk as if we used some unlawful trades there, clipping at least; and it might be coining of money. Upon this we were forced to call in the blacksmith and some of the neighbours, that it might be known there was neither damage nor danger to the state by our operations. This was morning's work before dressing; to which duty we were usually summoned by the lady full of admiration what creatures she had in her family. In the afternoons too we had employment which was somewhat more refined; and that was turning and planing; for which use we sequestered a low closet. We had our engines from London, and many round implements were made. I contrived a way-wiser, and we both wrought upon it hard till it came to perfection and was fixed upon a calash we used. The compass of the hinder wheel of it was about sixteen feet and a half, which is a statute rod, and the diameter five feet and a half, the

ordinary width of cart-wheels ; which, tripled, comes near to that length. In this instrument there were three wheels, and those had indexes. The first went about in thirty-two rod; the second in a mile, three hundred and twenty; and the third in ten miles, three thousand two hundred ; which was fine enough, to be done all in wood. But, whilst we were in high diversion an unfortunate accident happened ; which was this.

424. Sir Dudley North's brother and partner, Mr. Mountagu North, designed to go back to Constantinople. He went by way of France and made a small stop at Paris, intending to embark for the Levant at Marseilles. At that time an ambassador was going out from France to Turkey ; and it seems his curiosity went too far ; for he made interest to see the presents and talked with more intelligence of Turkey than ordinary. This made the French nation take umbrage and stop his journey at Marseilles and send him to the castle at Toulon, where he lay three years and a half, with an immense loss in his affairs. But it made him amends in his health ; for, living so long in an excellent air with an exquisite diet, full but temperate, from a very crazy he became a very athletic and sound gentleman. The news of this misfortune came to us at Wroxton ; and immediately Sir Dudley North, who was a most kind relation, and particularly to this, for reasons hinted before, equipped for a journey to take what care he could of him. I went with him, and never knew so melancholy a time in London ; for it was deep vacation, very few of our acquaintance in town ; and Sir Dudley North and I spent most of our time like two spectres walking about from one person or place to another. We got what recommendations we could from persons we thought had credit in King James's court there, to assure his voyage was for trade and not politics ; and were assured we had all that interest for his freedom. But that would not do ; and we could not otherwise apply to the French court it being a jealous time of war. All we could do of that sort was to get a *fede* of the merchants, signed by public notaries. We had one drawn to signify to all to whom, &c. of our case ; and speaking to the merchants on the Exchange, every one we spoke to went and signed it. This was sent

but without effect ; for with the French, as with all politicians, jealousies with or without a reason for purposes of caution, are taken as certainties. So, this expedition proving fruitless, we returned to our post in the country again.

425. And there Sir Theophilus Gimcrack, as Sir Dudley was pleased to style our way-wiser, the wooden knight, was a call to go abroad in the chaise, with a design to prove the distances of places ; and it was no small entertainment to observe the unaccountable variety of vulgar estimates. But in our laboratories it was not a little strange to see with what earnestness and pains we worked, sweating most immoderately and scarce allowing ourselves time to eat. At the lighter works in the afternoon, he hath sat, perhaps scraping a stick or turning a piece of wood, and this for many afternoons together, all the while singing like a cobler, incomparably better pleased than he had been in all the stages of his life before. And it is a mortifying speculation, that of the different characters of this man's enjoyments, separated one from the other and exposed to an indifferent choice, there is scarce any one but this I have here described, really worth taking up. And yet the slavery of our nature is such that this must be despised, and all the rest with the attendant evils of vexation, disappointments, dangers, loss of health, disgraces, envy and what not of torment, be admitted. It was well said of the philosopher to Pyrrhus : "What follows after all your victories ? To sit down and make merry. And cannot you do so now ?"

426. Sir Dudley North made very little difference how he spent his time provided he was doing and might sit ; for, being corpulent, the old weakness of his knees made him not stand long at his ease. When first he came over, I kept a sailing-yacht upon the Thames ; and the first time we took him aboard, he claps himself down upon the seat by the helm and, taking the whipstaff in his hand, "By G—," said he, "I'll be admiral ;" and there he sat and steered with all the delight imaginable. And no entertainment pleased him better than this ; because he sat all the while ; and, besides acting and conduct which to him was always relishing, he could look about and talk ; which was bringing into his time as much of what he loved as was possible. Wherever he was,

he was apt to clap him down upon any seat and say, “*Jo mi lamo Don Sentare*,” alluding to the Spanish judge, who took all, and said, “*Jo mi lamo Don Tomare*.” And he did not take pleasure in any thing that did not admit sitting.

427. I have but one passage or two to relate before I make a full close ; and that is this : I remember, when he first came over, he told us a merry story of one Mr. Young, a Turkey merchant who had laid a trap for him, which he escaped. He was one of their principals, and had in their warehouse a parcel of rotten unsaleable goods which he desired should be sold, but not at a ruin price. He thereupon wrote a letter to his factors to sell the goods, but conceived in terms so ambiguous that they feared the letter was not a clear warrant for their making such a bargain as he might call bad, and for that cause wrote him word that they were willing to accomplish his desires, but feared no sale could be made without great loss. This letter came to the merchant ; and he, concluding his factors had sold, wrote a quarrelling letter affirming the goods were sound and, if they had sold under the market, they must make it good to him. When this letter came, the merchants were preparing a dispatch positive for clearer orders : but upon this reprehension, instead of that, he sent to his principal an answer at large and very particular to every point, as that, whereas he said the goods were sound they answered they were rotten and, to prove it, the goods were in the warehouse ; and the like conclusion to every article ; which very much disappointed Mr. Young and cleared the merchants.

428. I have heard him complain of the ill usage he had from the Turkey Company, whom he had served with indefatigable pains and with not a little skill and dexterity, and hoped for some handsome acknowledgments, in an honorary way at least, from them. But instead of that, he had given him by their secretary articles of exception to his accounts. One of them was that he had put a tariff upon the Company ; which is an arbitrated rate, as of course, without regard to what expenses he had been at. The case was, he, foreseeing what the Company would want for presents, bought them beforehand with his own money and not theirs, as he had opportunity, cheap ; and when the time came, he sold them to the Company at the price then current ; by

which he had then a merchant's adventure and a merchant's profit; which was a reasonable advantage of his employ. He answered this matter, and concluded that he did not put a tariff upon the Company; and so to all the other articles as the truth was. After which answer he heard no more: but if they had gone farther he was resolved to have stood suit with them, and so to have exposed them. But he conceived that they being really and truly in his debt affected a quarrel to cover the ill usage intended him. This made him sometimes say, that whoever served a community and did not secure his reward, would meet with quarrels in the room of thanks for all the good he did them.

429. He never was named in a law-suit but one: for what passed in the Exchequer for conventicle-money, as was related, I account none. This suit was a hearing before the Lord Keeper North, to have a trust interpreted; he, in right of his wife, being concerned to gain if it went one way. I remember my Lord Keeper said, he wondered when he saw his brother go across the court, what chancery-suit he was fallen into; for he had never so much as touched upon it in discourse. It will scarce be believed what rigid decorums, of that kind were maintained between those brothers; but I know they were observed in utmost strictness. The Lord Keeper decreed against his brother; and then they were free to talk. Sir Dudley North's aunt, the Lady Dacres, used to complain of her nephew the Lord Keeper North, saying that, to get himself credit, he decreed against her. "Madam," said Sir Dudley North, "he decreed also against me that had a cause, so and so." "Ay, indeed," said she, "even so he serves all his relations." "But, Madam," said he, "my adversary showed against me so and so." "Nay, then," said she, "by my troth I think my nephew served you but right." "Pray, Madam," said he, "tell me what your adversary showed against you." That confounded her so that she said no more.

430. I have observed that Sir Dudley North loved a chirping glass in an evening but hated drunkenness; and I do not remember I have seen him more than flustered, as they call it, and not above twice or thrice from his first coming over to his death. Once he suffered hard for being, if he was, so; for, coming out of the Wonder tavern, by

Ludgate, where he had been with the citizens then called Tories, he stepped short of his coach and raked his shin against the edge, which fetched off the skin. At home, according as formerly in like case he had done, he put wet brown paper to it ; and when it festered and run through that, he put another, and so till he had a case of four or five thick, hard baked upon his shin ; and then it swelled much, and grew painful ; and a surgeon was sent for and a doctor likewise to watch the surgeon. At pulling off the papers they shook their heads, which was a symptom he did not like. He was put under strict rule of diet and disposition of himself, which he strictly observed ; and when it was expected the wound should heal, it stood at a stay. The lord keeper, desiring to understand the case, fell to studying surgery ; and, having got Wiseman's Book of Martyrs, as it was called, he read there, that if a wound was digested and clean, and come to carnification, the spare diet (which was to prevent a fever) must be laid aside and one more liberal allowed. His lordship thereupon prescribed good meals and not without a glass of wine ; and then the breach filled up in a little time. He had another case of surgery happened in his family ; which was a coachman wounded in the leg by an accident in the stable. He was then sheriff and wanted his servant ; and the case was such that a surgeon must be sent for and used to prevent extremity. It was so done, and, in a week the surgeon set him upon his seat again. His bill was demanded, which came to three pounds ; "That," said the master, "is too much for no more attendance." The surgeon answered, "that he considered his worship's occasion to use his servant ; and therefore set him up in a week ; else that cure would have held a month at least."

431. I must say in the general that, after Sir Dudley North came and settled in England, no person whatever lived more untainted with vice of any kind and more conformable to order, becoming a layman full of affairs, than he did ; which makes me subtract from what I did but suppose might have been beyond sea and take things in the best sense. I must own that when he was very angry, (which always happened upon his clashing with detected knaves and very seldom otherwise,) he was apt to let go a

rapper or two. He was a most patient hearer; but, being once informed and having given his rule if people stood out in the wrong and justified falsities, he would be intemperate in his talk to a very great degree; which was commonly censured as being too much. And here I have deposed all the evil in the worst colours I ever knew of the man.

432. It remains now to give an account of Sir Dudley North's constitution and temper of body; and that, as happened, will not admit of much commendation; for, at his first coming over, he carried himself with a sort of bravura against cold and used an airy garb; but was shrewdly corrected for it. I have observed of most Englishmen that have lived in hot countries, that, let them take all the care they can, they will be seasoned at home with bad colds: and Sir Dudley North's was so bad that it left him phthisical; and that sat upon his lungs so that he could not, at any time after that, bear a swift or violent motion. Afterwards he had a tolerable health but never looked upon himself as long-lived; and, indeed was not much solicitous about it. Once he had an attack of a distemper in his bowels, which was like a girdle that circled him round. It did not appear outwardly at all. He took brandies and clysters and was hacked about the streets, and all means were applied that could be thought on to ease his griping and renew the peristaltic motion which seemed to cease within him, and not without danger of inverting. At last he said he would take my medicine. He had observed that when I was indisposed, I swallowed a great deal of water-gruel and scarce ever left drinking till I got well again: so water-gruel was made and he drank tankard after tankard (for I had often said that it was the quantity, which, being of a nature cooling, might be trusted, like a long pole put down to crowd away obstructions), and he left not off, but, more or less, drank almost continually, till his bowels were so full, that his lady feared some rupture. But, at length he was surprised with a discharge up and down, all at the same instant, not as a work of nature, by vomit or stool, but as the effect of a compression even against the force of nature resisting it. Such an explosion of all that was within him, happening in that manner, was

a crisis, the doctors said, they had never known before. But it cured him all at once; and he never had any like complaint as long as he lived after.

433. He had removed from his great house in the city and came to that in the piazza, which Sir Peter Lely formerly used and I had lived in alone for divers years. We were so much together, and my incumbrances so small, that so large a house might well hold us both. I believe he found that he wanted air every day more than other, and was determined to buy a country seat to enter upon in the spring, cost what it would.

434. When the long vacation came, we went down to Wroxton, as our late use was, and, towards Michaelmas, we parted; he towards Bristol, to see his relations there, and I towards Norfolk, taking Attleborough in my way; from whence, at his desire, I saw Besthorp and recommended it to him. I returned to London and was there before him. After he was come up, his lady said that she observed him very heavy all that autumnal season and, in the journey to London, had no heart nor spirits to mind things as formerly he had done. He had not been long in town before his winter enemy, a cold, attacked him. He, being phthisical, never shifted well with a cold; but it was his resolved way to carry his evils about with him which he could not shake off; and so, with immane coughing and striving, he used to get well again. Now, he worked upon his books, and went abroad but seldom without me; and, the last time he was at the Exchange, I observed an unusual deadness in his countenance; and he did not cough so much as usual but wanted breath; and very often, as one tired, went and sat him down upon the benches.

435. After we had dined, he eating and drinking very little and being very dull, I went my way and left him, not dreaming his case was so bad as it really was; for we had adjusted two days after to go down and agree for Besthorp; and the best of our discourse some days before was of the good air and diversion we should have in that journey, and what good neighbours we should be to each other in the country. And woe had been to me, if we had gone and he had been taken ill in the journey. At night, according to custom, I came home and found him in bed,

and his lady sitting silent and sorrowful in the room, with Mr. St. Amand, the apothecary. This was a strange scene: but, it seems, in the afternoon his breath had almost left him and he grew fiery hot with a fever and not able to sit up, as he would have done if he could. He was thereupon put to bed and, as I found him, lay gasping for breath, without any manner of discharge or offer at coughing, whereby he might have been a little relieved. He discoursed seriously that he found himself very ill and concluded he should die; that he knew of no cause of this illness on his part, and God's will be done. Dr. Radcliff was sent for; and he, observing his breathing with a syncope, or small hiccup, (if those may not be counted one and the same term) asked if he was used to breathe in that manner; and, somebody saying "No," he asked no more questions, concluding, as I believed, that the patient could not recover. The next day, the minister came and he had the holy sacrament given him; and whilst he lay ill, which was not above two or three days, the prayers of the church.

436. He had no medicines [but a little cordial julep and, as Radcliff prescribed, a pectoral, more for form than any thing else, being only a little fresh-drawn linseed oil. He was, as I perceived, resolved not to be a subject of the artist's experimentations and did reluct at that nauseous medicine, and was just going to declare, I had almost said swear (as, in the height of passion, sometimes he did) that he would not take it; but he stopped in that instant, and I know not if any one but myself observed it; and then he said, "What you will," without any disturbance at all. I thought religion as well as reason whispered him that his time was his friends' and not his own, and that he should not add affliction to them by any averse singularity on his part which he might prevent by his entire resignation; and from that time to the last, he behaved himself accordingly. Mr. St. Amand, who had been our neighbour and acquaintance, and with whom we used to talk merrily about his trade and how little life (truly considered) was worth, thought now that he had got a convert, with a large table and window-boards to be furnished with pots and glasses but he found little or nothing of that kind called for; and a patient too who was not concerned at his case but seemed

as willing to die as to live. This affected him so much that he could not hold saying, "Well, I never saw any people so willing to die as these Norths are." Sir Dudley lay not long in this manner; but in all good sense, conscience and understanding, perfect tranquillity of mind and entire resignation, he endured the pain of hard breathing till he breathed no more; which happened on the 31st of December, 1691.

437. After this, his almost dying widow retired; and it fell to my share to provide for the funeral which was honourably celebrated, and his perishable part deposited in Covent-garden church near the altar. His lady, recovering herself by slow degrees (for her grief had no cure but time), undertook the charge of educating her two sons, his only remains, and making the best of their fortunes, which were amply provided by his last will, and for their sakes of her own: for she continued a widow twenty-five years at least; during which time she lost her younger son Roger; which loss was alleviated by her having the happiness to see her eldest son Dudley married and settled in prosperity with his family at Glemham in Suffolk. And when her time of change was come she chose to lie in the parish-church there; adding her desire that the corpse of her husband might be taken up and, being joined with her's, be conveyed down and interred both together. All which, by due order and authority, was piously performed.

APPENDIX I.

A letter from Adrianople to one of the Duke of Tuscany's Ministers, resident at Constantinople, giving an account of the Feasts and Solemnities at the Circumcision of a Turkish Prince, and other occasions.

TRANSLATION.

SIR,

438. I BELIEVE length of time makes you conclude me buried ; and, to say truth, you are not much mistaken ; for it is now above four months that I have abode in this accursed city : a state to me beyond the grave, and worse than purgatory, even hell itself, were it not that one day I hope for a redemption. Let it suffice at present, that, for your diversion, I present you with some slight account of our voyage.

439. His excellency parted from his house in Pera 2nd of May, old style, with a very great retinue, there being in all more than a hundred and twenty horses with fifty-five carriages for the baggage and a double litter, borne by four mules harnessed together, two and two, and there rode his excellency and the knight.¹ Besides all this for more honour there was a coach and six. I give you leave to consider a while what it must cost to bring this equipage into order.

440. We travelled and made the first day's journey no farther than the small bridge, where I was surprised with a jolly fever got by over-harassing myself about this expedition ; and, for this reason, the coach and six fell to my share the greatest part of the journey.

441. After nine days spent upon the road we arrived

¹ Sir John Finch, the Ambassador, and his friend Sir Thomas Bains.

here; and at our entrance into the city had all the honours (such as the Turks sell to the Franks for their money, as the chiaus, bashi, &c.) in a most superlative degree. And reason good; for we merchants pay well and ought not to be deprived of our wares.

442. When we had entered the city we wished the devil had our lodgings; of which we were most miserably provided, and all in fault of Signor Antonio who was there fifty days before us for that very business. But his excellency and the knight, ill satisfied as they were, were forced to have patience for two or three days; in which time we got a rich Jew out of his house. And as for myself I turned Signor Antonio out of his quarters and there reposed with good conveniency. So by little and little every one found his kennel, and we rested in the exercise of blessed patience.

443. No sooner were we arrived but (as if they stayed for us) they began the sports for circumcision of the Grand Signor's son. All the other side of the seraglio, that is the plain before it, was almost covered with the tents of the Grand Signor and great men; I mean that part that is farthest from the city, leaving room only sufficient for the sports; and that was also provided with ropes for showing tricks; and towards the city were erected frames for placing of lamps.

444. These lamps supplied two sides of the square both lying open to the seraglio. The upper sides were taken up with the tents of the grandees. The lamps on the one side were disposed like those in mosques at time of Ramazan; and on the other side they were managed by Arabs as they use at the shows upon the river Nile.

445. These cursed sports lasted fifteen days and the formalities were performed in this manner.

446. Every day about noon the Grand Signor feasted some sort of people or other, as the spahis, janizaries, &c.; so also all the artificers, not only of this city but of Constantinople also, who were all invited for the dear sake of the presents they must make. These latter, on the day of invitation went out of the city in the same manner as when the Grand Signor goes to the wars (which you have seen), in solemn procession of their trades; and so they all pre-

sented themselves before the Grand Signor who, in proper person, stood to receive their presents. Those being delivered, they all retired to the place appointed and there stuffed their bellies with pilaw and precious cold water.

447. And having spoke of presents, I must add that all persons great and small that depended on the government, not only bashas but every little justice, at this solemnity were obliged to send or bring presents; and that not after their own good wills but an officer express was appointed to see if they were as they ought to be; and sometimes they turned back the presents as not competent. And they must give not only to the Grand Signor but also to the queen-mother, the queen, and the prince.

448. No Frank is admitted to the honour of being invited to these feasts but the Ragusean, who was invited to come with presents as other subjects of the empire. As for us (although present) we were not called to that honour, nor had any more of their regards than if we had not been at all there.

449. Imagine with yourself what a world of riches must be gathered from such a vast concourse of people: I say no more of that. After the meal was over (if it happened to be one of the circumcision days) all who had children of age fit for that operation brought them to the Grand Signor, who presented each with some garments and money.

450. There wanted not Christians turned Turks appearing daily to be circumcised with the others. And in this manner no less than between three and four hundred persons were every day circumcised; and during that work the sports began, which were of young men dancing in the habits of women with a thousand jack-pudding tricks, puppet-shows, and all those obscene representations you have often seen in Constantinople. For all persons that could do any thing extraordinary, as dance, wrestle, carry vast weights, or perform any novelty, came there at that time; and what really seemed great, in the same great square, and at the same time were performed divers sorts of entertainments, as rope-dancing in several manners; and also many companies dancing on the ground in different habits, some in Persian habits in their way, others

Indian, some Turkish, with other masquerades in great variety.

451. Besides all these in divers places they had a sort of farces acted with several filthy dialogues, and all kinds of obscenity acted most naturally. And also they contrived certain ships or galleys of sufficient bigness to contain two or three persons within, which they suspended from large ropes so as they might turn them several ways, whereby they formed a kind of sea-fight, often firing the little cannons they had within ; but this contrivance was in the design of it so deformed and ridiculous that worse could not have been made.

452. After the work of the day was done in this manner, and a breathing-time of an hour or two past, and it began to grow dark, the fire-works began to play ; all the lamps were put in their places in manner most glorious ; and round the square stood an infinite number of the Arab fire-carriers ; with their grates lighted in their hands ; and that in reality was a fine appearance.

453. When all things were in order they began to give fire to the machines, which were always in abundance ; there being no less than twenty or more discharged every night and, besides these, men were placed about in the square who sent up into the air rockets without number and of largest size. And in this manner the entertainment of fire-works lasted till near midnight.

454. These fire-works were of so many kinds I cannot describe them all particularly ; but one, which to me seemed most extraordinary, I must take notice of ; and that, plain and simple as it was, had more of astonishment than art ; it was set in the ground and, being fired, vomited up a world of sparkling stuff like to the trains of the rockets, but the body of it stirred not being fixed in the earth ; but, as I said, from thence vomited up such fire as made the very earth as it were tremble with such a roaring and noise, and with such horror from the fire, as with the appearance rather dreaded than delighted the spectators ; but though I went often, it was not my chance to see this above twice ; for they used it seldom and then not without express orders.

455. There was another strange thing, which I shall not

omit to tell you, being a sort of rocket sent up without such tail or train that others had, but only so much as served just to keep sight of them ; yet they mounted higher than the others and with greater force ; and after the bounce, which was also very loud, they scattered abundance of stars and little fires in the air.¹

456. You may imagine here wanted no spectators, some on foot and others on horseback ; as for the latter, I refer to your own thoughts how far they were from being at ease while the horses flung one over another a hundred several ways, in terrible disorder. And I can affirm, there never was such a dance of brave horses seen as at that place ; for at one and the same time you might observe I know not how many thousand of them, every one acting after his own caprice, without any the least regard to those that pretended to govern them. And to tell you the truth, I had small joy in this diversion ; and however we endeavoured all that was possible to procure horses that were temperate, yet I could not help making one in the dance, and that not without much hazard which not a little retrenched my enjoyments, till I found out the way to leave my horse at a good distance from me.

457. I should have told you at first, that the square where the sports were acted was always surrounded with janizaries, having their caps on their heads and staves of correction in their hands ; and these ceased not to lay on upon the press of people which was never wanting. But to prevent the breaking of heads, which had been plenty if all had been left to their discretion, there was an ordinance of about one hundred men dressed all in leather, with caps just like our bishops mitres, and those set off with divers little bells made fast to the tops of them ; and each of them had in his hand a boraccio-skin (called in Turkish, *tulum*) which, as well as their garments, were all anointed with oil ; and for captain of these they found out a figure the most ridiculous that ever was seen, being exceeding tall and very fat with a paunch as the very sight of him would make a

¹ [These were discharged out of mortar pieces ; which then being a new thing, or out of this gentleman's way to understand, he writes it as a wonder.]—*Note in the first Edition.*

stone laugh. This fellow was dressed in red like a cardinal and commanded the black regiment, and where he saw the people press most, he dispatched a squadron that soon made room enough; for they always laid about them with their skins, which never touched but left a print and spoiled the clothes.

458. In this manner continued the celebration of the festivals of the circumcision for the space of fifteen days, with little variety, doing for the most part but the same things over and over again. At the expiration of that time came on the holy-day of *Merlut*, or festival for the birth of the prophet Mahomet. On that we had the sight of the Grand Signor and the princes proceeding to the mosque with great solemnity, being attended with the folks of the seraglio only without any others being concerned; and that evening the poor infant was circumcised, but (as they said) not without utmost repugnance; the father holding it by force during the operation.

459. Who knows, but this infant may have some holy instinct towards Christianity which made him strive so; one may believe that he would have been more easily reconciled to the ceremonies of our most holy baptism. God grant that when he comes to reign, he may remember this ill usage and not permit it to be done to any others. And then our papas and friars may hope for a better harvest out of this sect than they find at present.

460. But hold. I must ask your pardon for having omitted to tell you of a most solemn cavalcade, two days before the day of the circumcision, in honour of the prince; all the whole court conducting him through the greater part of the city to the seraglio with all the glory imaginable, there being the vizier and all the bashas; so that nothing was wanting but the Grand Signor's person.

461. The little infant was so set out with jewels and other rich ornaments, that it was quite covered with them, so as to be lost; and through so much splendour one could scarce discern its little countenance. A little before its person they carried several of those (*nacul* they are called in Turkish) dressed up trumpery, made with wax flowers and rattling brass, which you have seen carried before brides at weddings, and are larger or lesser according to

the charge they are willing to allow. Of these in pairs many were of moderate size being borne by one, some by two, and others by four men to each, which, passing along, made a very pleasant view. Behind these came two vast ones of extravagant height, no less than eighteen yards : these were carried by slaves in number about two hundred and fifty, with help of certain beams that passed through underneath. These carriers were managed with a whistle so as to raise or let sink the burthen as they manage in galleys ; there being placed upon the machine certain boat-swains for that very purpose. And also for surer conduct of this, so as it might not fall any way, they had [*sarsi*] ¹ near the summit, which were held by other slaves ; and underneath, where they might fix long staves, four of them were applied, which as the [*sarsi*] ¹ were also carried or held by the same slaves. And whenever the machine rested, those were pitched on the ground to stay it. And these being so very tall, and to pass through great part of the city, for some days before they had made provision by beating down all things that might obstruct their passage. And yet, not being satisfied with this provision and suspecting some impediment might happen, and to prevent all delay, they had marching near a master carpenter with a troop of fifty workmen, every one provided with his adze, saw, sledge, and other necessary tools for battering down all things that but seemed to be in the way ; and they did

¹ [The Italian word, which the honourable author of this work has left untranslated, is here, in the Italian, *sarsi*. Now I cannot find that there is any such word in the Italian language. I have not the original MS. of this letter by me ; but I am apt to think that the word, there, was *sarte* ; which signifies ropes, or cordage for ships, and particularly the shrouds which keep the mast steady. And what confirms in great measure my conjecture, is a print of this *nacul* or pageant, which I found whilst I was looking over Sir Paul Rycaut's History of the Turks, vol. ii. For in that there are six ropes, three on one side and three on the other, fixed near the summit of the pageant, and hanging down from thence low enough for slaves to take hold of them and so keep it steady. A little below these were four long staves, two on each side opposite to each other, with holes bored through one end of them, which turned upon pins that were fixed horizontally to the pageant. The lower ends of these also were held by slaves ; and when the machine rested, those ends stuck in the ground and supported it like so many props.]—*Note in the first Edition.*

as much in several places, with a wonderful dexterity, climbing up and then beating down as they pleased, without consulting any owner or so much as saying "By your leave, sir."

462. In this manner the prince was conveyed to the seraglio and, placing the two great machines before the kiosque (or house of pleasure), the lesser were carried in. So having dispatched the circumcision, as I have before related, this festival was at an end.

463. We hoped now to obtain audience and dispatch all our affairs; but the devil was of another mind and had other matters in hand for the solace of his elect, and so contrived new festivals and not without cause; for having offended the goddess Venus, sinning (as we account, that are Christians, in opposition to the circumcised Jews and Turks) by a mutilation of that same, was resolved to appease her by celebrating her most sacred rites of marriage. And so, after a few days respite, as were necessary for the preparations, new sports began, as I am about to tell you.

464. When the house of Musaip Coglioglu was prepared, who was to marry the Grand Signor's daughter, this festival began; whereof the greatest part was transacted within doors among the women; but, without, nothing appeared till after *kendi* (or hour of three), and then all the plays and dances as had been before the seraglio were acted over again; only the business of rope-dancing was much better than before; and really we saw there things done worthy of wonder.

465. But that I may not dwell too long upon descriptions, I shall only tell you that I saw a man mount his rope with a live ass, and no small one, upon his shoulders; but that of dancing with a boy at their backs, and such like tricks, were ordinary. But what to me seemed very extravagant, was when a man, hanging at a rope stretched on high, and holding only by his hands, without touching the rope with any other part of his body, turned round the rope at least twelve times without any stay and with such violence that I believe, if he had let go his hold, he had flown through the air I know not how far off. And what was more, they fastened a large rope (or rather more than one spliced together) to the summit of the tower of Sultan

Selim, and the other end was made fast in Coglioglu's garden. And every day one or two came down this rope, some by the feet tied, some by the hair of the head, some sounding trumpets, and others firing pistols after their own fancy, for giving most delight to the Grand Signor, who showed himself pleased with rope-dancing more than with any other of the sports. The distance between the top of the tower and the garden where the other end of the rope was fastened, I judge to be as far as from our ambassador's house in Pera to the four corners (viz. as from the Exchange to Paul's) where the resident of Genoa lives. These fellows came down with such violence that it was found a most difficult thing to stop them without breaking their bones.

466. The best of all was, that after these ropes had been stretched and for divers days exposed to the sun and rain; a fancy sprang in one of these fellows to come down with a boy tied to his back, who was to beat a drum while he sounded a trumpet; and being come near Coglioglu's seraglio, the rope broke, and so they fell to the ground. But fortune had ordered he should not fall far, but in the first place to light upon a tree, and then upon the end of a house, and after that upon an unlucky Armenian, whose shoulder was put out, and there lay he for dead, but little harm to the rope-dancer; yet he and his charge the boy, were taken up as dead; but in few days, there being no bones broke, he came to himself again; and the boy had only a lusty wound on his chin. For this accident the Grand Signor settled on all three a daily maintenance of I know not how many aspers for life. After this, they used this sport no more, but contrived to fasten the rope to the same tower, not at the top but next to the second gallery; and yet so high and long as the rope was, I saw many men walk up and come down afoot, going upright and at a good rate.

467. When these entertainments were over, they made the procession of the dowry and also another; but first went that of the present which the bridegroom made to his mistress. This was attended by the teftardar, who was the father, and a mighty train of great men; but the vizier, or any bashas of the council, were not there.

468. This present consisted of I know not how many mules loaden with sweet-meats and as many others charged with several sorts of sugar-works, made up in all shapes imaginable as to represent elephants, camels, lions, and a thousand other animals ; there were also gardens with trees full of fruit all made of sugar. And to say truth if, in the Turkish religion it had been prohibited to make any image or the likeness of any thing, I should yet believe that in all this they were guilty of no sin ; for the figures were so rude and ill-contrived that the design of the artist was seldom discovered.

469. Then came several agas afoot, each of them carrying in his arms pieces of satin cloth of gold and the like, for vests ; and these I believe were in number one hundred and twenty persons carrying each five or six vests apiece at least. Then came on the jewels, carried open and showed to all people, the value of which was about five hundred thousand lion dollars ; and after all came the teftardar basha who, as father, conducted the presents to the bride.

470. Among the presents I must not omit to tell you of twelve coaches full of slaves and about twenty eunuchs which, with the rest, were also presented. A few days after, they carried the bride to the house of her husband ; and this was done with the greatest pomp, there being present the grand vizier and all the grandees with their attendants. Before the bride went the *nacul*, in the same manner as they were borne before the prince at the procession of him before his circumcision, so I need not make a new description of them. The bride was conveyed in a coach and six horses, the furniture and harness of the horses were most sumptuous and the coach was all of silver plates. Before the coach went many eunuchs, and two on each side ; it was followed by thirty coaches, which they say contained all her slaves ; those had also before each two eunuchs, and one on each side.

471. So ended the procession, there following, by way of a rear guard, divers dozens of camels loaden with musicians and their instruments of noise that sounded loud enough to deafen all mankind. A little while after followed divers other coaches filled (as was guessed) with ladies,

having eunuchs without ; and here, as they said, was the queen mother and her court who went to visit the bride in her house.

472. Here I find I have omitted, among these two processions, to tell you of another, which was of the portion which the Grand Signor gave to his daughter. It consisted of some hundreds of mules laden with house-furniture and then a world of jewels of price, in the same manner as when the presents were conveyed ; but these were of much greater value, they say double at least. And here also were divers coaches full of slaves and their eunuchs, the vizier and all the grandees of the court attending.

473. I think now I am come to an end of these festivals, which we have often cursed as being the cause of our stay here. But for you Polanders, if ye had any more wit than the brutes, you should have praised God for this happy conjuncture ; for what fairer opportunity could you have desired to proffer itself for your recovery of Caminiec, and driving the Turks out of those countries, than this time when the Grand Signor, and all the great officers of the empire, were so busily employed about this trumpery ? But I have told you what you are, and I scarce think you will contradict me, having lost so good an opportunity which you may not have again in many years ; but now it is the work to prepare yourselves to resist the united force of all Turkey.

474. I shall not conclude this petit letter without acquainting you, that among the rest of our great mortifications one greater arrived which was the plague. For that, marching fiercely through all the city, obliged his excellency after fifty days from our first coming to remove with all his attendants to the village of Caragage, and from thence, as if it persecuted us, drove him out into the fields where we abode in our tents.

475. It fell to my share to be always in the city, which in truth I could not avoid for business of one sort or other required it. Care was taken to find me constant employment, and for the most part I went at the will and pleasure of his excellency.

476. This lord (for so the people of these parts call the plague, and they will have him to be so) furious as he was,

and we being in number above one hundred and twenty persons having avoided infection all that was possible, did not reach us with any of his strokes; but at last, not content we should escape without a pat, he struck down two of the servants; which accident, without the least hesitation (we not thinking fit to expect more) made us dislodge, and not without some disorder, and also admonished us to be gone towards our desired city Constantinople; and that will be now in a few days, but had not been thought of so soon if this accident had not happened, and from thence I shall not fail to write you what novelty I shall find after an absence of five months.

APPENDIX II.

477. It may not be amiss to set down what I found amongst the papers of this honourable author, concerning the king's sentiments and behaviour at this time, because he had full opportunity of knowing them. It is as follows.

The firmness of Sir Dudley North's before the king was not resented by his majesty in the least, for aught as appeared then or afterwards; so far was he from putting the removal or any affront upon him. And the like appeared in divers other instances of this closeting; for if men did not set up to censure or advise, but answered modestly; although it was positively against his majesty's desires, he did not think the worse of them for it. But if they answered pertly and pragmatically, as showing somewhat of animosity or party, he showed some marks of his displeasure. And it may be proper to declare farther what I might observe living in the midst of these affairs; which is, that the king bitterly repented the parting with his loyal parliament and laboured hard to get another; and this work about the tests, &c. grew fastidious to him having brought many evils and affronts upon him. But his party urging him so incessantly he would not break with them upon it. He and they had very different designs. He desired of all things to compass a fair parliament, and I believe would

have agreed with them in any thing moderate: but they desired to have no parliament at all and invented all these machinations to disgust the nation in so high a degree, as really it did, that his majesty might see plainly that all parliaments were become impracticable. And the proceedings were so gross, public, and universally urged upon the whole nation, that no other construction could be made of it, unless it were right down treachery colluding with foreigners to destroy him. And that might be in some sort, but not in the general nor in the chancellor in particular; whose end I verily believe was to save his bacon. He knew, and could tell his companions, that the king was dispunishable and could deal with any parliament; but his ministers were obnoxious and would suffer whatever else happened. No wonder then they were so copious in methods to have always this and that and twenty matters to dispatch before the parliament was to be summoned. There were egregious marks of the king's urging against them for a parliament; for he more than once publicly declared it to the nation; and once the very day; which latter declaration they spoiled by fixing an indulgence to it. The committee of regulations sat usually on Saturdays; and at one of those meetings the king came and was told they had resolved the next should be a fanatic parliament, because none else would answer his majesty's ends, and therefore they moved him to forbid all his servants that were of the church of England to stand. At that the king was in a great passion, and declared he had always found those gentlemen to be his friends and he would never believe otherwise of them till he found it; and he should rely upon them and they should all of them, that he could prevail for, be chosen. Accordingly intimation was given to Sir Dudley North and others to prepare their interests against the writs. This passage I was told by some that might know, and would not lie.

THE LIFE
OF THE
HON. AND REV. DR. JOHN NORTH,
MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE IN CAMBRIDGE,
AND GREEK PROFESSOR,
PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER,
AND SOMETIME CLERK OF THE CLOSET TO HIS MAJESTY
KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

T H E L I F E
O F T H E
H O N . A N D R E V . D R . J O H N N O R T H .

MY design in these papers is to frame a short history of the life of an honourable person, some time since deceased, and to represent his character as near to truth as my stock of materials will enable me. Works of this kind may be useful to such as had rather profit by the example of others, than apply any invention or industry of their own towards a moral improvement; or it may be to wear away some heavy hours in reading. As for the importance of the present subject I shall hang out no bush, but submit to the peruser the determination whether there was need of such a proverbial signal or not. Some have affected to write the lives of persons long since dead and gone, and their names preserved only by some formal remains and (ever) dubious traditions. So painters copy from obscure draughts half obliterated whereof no member, much less the entire resemblance is to be found. But fiction supported upon seeming probability must fill up the blanks, and supply all defects. In this manner some lives have become redivival but with partial views, tending either to panegyric, the advance of some favourite opinions, or factious intrigues; which are fiercely pursued while the life-scrapes come out very thin and meagre. And after great length of time how should it come off better? My choice is of what the present undertaking aims at, the life of a person¹ known to some

¹ [This must be understood of the time when the author wrote.]—Note in the first Edition.

yet living, and done by a close acquaintance and frequent companion who hath neither inclination nor temptation to court the public, or flatter the private.

2. The moral intent here is to do justice to the person, and service to his family; both which may result from the present endeavour to retrieve his character. And this is no slight task, because he took express care that nothing real should remain, whereby in after-times he might be remembered; and my memory is now the repository of most that may be recovered of him. Therefore I think it not reasonable for me to let such an ornament to his family and example of virtue be wholly forgot and lost; or perhaps his name only remain, and that confined to a petit cycle in some musty genealogy; and scarce that, since the honour, nay the continuance, of families seems to be slighted and unregarded, and since titles and estates seldom continue in the same line above three generations; which makes pedigrees good for little but to maintain titles to lands and tenements at law; and the remembrance of persons and families good for nothing at all. But yet it is hoped the defection is not so great but some families will remain who would not have any thing valuable of their lineage forgot; and others who are unconcerned may be glad to know examples, whether of good or bad, one for choice and the other for aversion; I hope I need not say which. But these considerations have pinned me down to the work; and I see no means I can have with decency to escape.

3. It hath not been in my power to gather up the precise times of all the passages of this life which I have mentioned; and for that reason I could not write it chronologically as I desired. But considering that there is little or nothing of the public or state's matters which may ever require a nice retrospection, I chose to proceed in a style of familiar conversation, and as one engaged to answer such questions concerning our Doctor as may be obviously demanded. I said our doctor; for, to save often writing a few syllables, I shall treat him under that title, although usurped until forms procure us a better warrant. And as to the style aimed at here, I intend it not polite; if it be significant it is well. It is hoped that the want of a formal distribution and subdivision of matters by book,

chapter, and section will not be wanted here. The marginal numbers may be equivalent to titles of chapters; and then the series may be continual, after the model of the Dutch Le Clerc in his *Parrasiana*, whom (any more than the English Dr. Clarke¹) I would not follow in any thing but philology.

4. Dr. John North was the fifth of seven sons of the Right Honourable Sir Dudley North (Knight of the Bath, Lord North Baron of Kirtling) and Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Charles Mountagu, a younger brother of the Boughton family. He was born at London September 4, 1645, and had divers brothers and sisters, elder and younger; of whom, with the rest of his relation which was widely extended among the chief of the nobility, a particular account is not here required; and thus much is mentioned only to show what in the following account of his life will be confirmed; viz. that the just value of an honourable descent received no diminution by his character.

5. When he was very young, and also as he grew up, he was of a nice and tender constitution, not so vigorous and athletic as most of his brothers were. His temper was always reserved and studious; for which reason his noble parents designed him early for the church. And the rather, because they observed him not inclined to those puerile irregularities to which boys are ordinarily propense; but, with an unusual respect, he resigned himself entirely to the order of his parents and particularly in their professional disposition of him; and even at school as well as at home he behaved himself accordingly. If any thing so early seemed amiss in him, it was a non-natural gravity which, in youths, is seldom a good sign; for it argues imbecility of body and mind or both; but his lay wholly in the former, for his mental capacity was vigorous as none more.

6. His scholastic education was altogether at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, under Dr. Stephens then master

¹ Dr. George Clarke, Fellow of All Souls and M.P. for the University of Oxford from 1717-1736. He was especially obnoxious to the Jacobites, with whom Roger North sympathized to a great extent. There is a good notice of Dr. Clarke in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

of an eminent school there. It was a piece of good fortune to be no forwarder; for his residence there fell in the dregs of time when, after the martyrdom of King Charles I., a Babel of misshapen powers tormented the people of England, until the happy restoration of King Charles II. to the crown and the nation to their laws: a fit time for a monastic retirement! The master was pedant enough, and noted for high flights in poetry and criticism, and what we now call jingling, not a little derived from the last age. All which qualities were not amiss in his employment. The worst of him was, what his corpulence declared, being a wet epicure, the common vice of bookish professions. We pass by his partialities (which were indeed scandalous and pernicious to many of his scholars) because they happened to turn in favour of our doctor; for his master was exceedingly fond and proud of him. One happiness was, that he was a noted Cavalier, then the title of the king's friends, in opposition to the rebels who, from a precise cut they affected, were styled Roundheads. In the worst of those times the master, in his family, used the forms of loyalty and orthodoxy; but, being reputed little better than a malignant, he was forced to use outwardly an occasional conformity by observing the church duties and days of super-hypocritical fastings and seekings, where-with the people in those days were tormented, though now worn out of almost all credibility; and he walked to church after his brigade of boys, there to endure the infliction of divers holders forth tiring themselves and every body else: and by these means he made a shift to hold his school. It happened that in the dawning of the Restoration the cancer of the times mitigated; and one Dr. Boldero, formerly a captain in Scotland under Montrose, and between the ladder and the rope had narrowly escaped hanging, now in episcopal orders, kept a Church of England conventicle in Bury, using the common-prayer; and our master often went to his congregation, and ordinarily took some of his boarders with him of whom our doctor was, for the most part, one.

7. There may be some doubt whether the genius of an education hath that mighty influence upon the conduct and morals of a future life, as commonly is reputed; for

we see daily young people coming up in a strain directly opposite to the opinions and usages of their families. But yet it is to be accounted a felicity to enter the world in the right way, especially in a political sense ; for party runs in families more than virtue or good manners : for strength of mind may get the better of all prejudices and even of that which is the strongest, education. And I have reflected, that if our doctor (as I presume to style him) had been bred in the horrid din of exclamation against prelacy, Arminianism, and popery, as the mode of those times rang, he had such strength of reason and bias towards truth, that in his riper years he could not have been a fanatic, whereof the composition was cross-grainedness, ambition, and malice. But herein I must distinguish parentele from education ; for the latter affects chiefly those who are lazy in thinking and, coming to man's estate, are glad to be determined any way rather than endure the fatigue of a serious deliberation. But from parentele are derived a depraved will, inclination to evil, and manners every way corrupt ; which made a venerable gentleman, the honourable Mr. Henry Gray, use (in his particular phrase) to say often, "By G—d's iff, ware a breed." Herein our doctor appears to have had a double felicity, a righteous education and parents of just and honourable principles, if any such ever were.

8. After the happy Restoration and while our doctor was yet at school, the master took occasion to publish his cavaliership by all the ways he could contrive ; and one was putting all the boarders who were of the chief families in the country, into red cloaks, because the cavaliers about the court usually wore such ; and scarlet was commonly called the king's colour. Of these he had near thirty to parade before him through that observing town to church ; which made no vulgar appearance. It fell out that, about that time, one Mr. Blemwell, a picture-drawer, resided at Bury. He was an early friend and acquaintance of Sir Peter Lely, who also spent some time at gentlemen's houses thereabouts. Mr. Blemwell was allowed of by Lely to have had a very good judgment in the art of picture, but his performances were not equal to his skill. He was a civil and well-bred gentleman, very well accepted

and employed in the town and neighbourhood; and, among others, he drew our doctor in his red cloak just as he wore it.¹ And I cannot but appeal to this portrait, now in my custody, for demonstration of what I have alleged concerning his grave disposition. The countenance is modest and composed, copied from pure nature, wherein nothing is owing to the painter, for it was very like him. This little picture is the more to be esteemed because there is no other; for he could never afterwards be prevailed upon to admit any to be made of him as, in the course of this work, will be observed.

9. He was much taken notice of for his amiable gravity; and after he grew up to man's estate he retained a florid youthfulness in his countenance, of which more will be observed afterwards. In the mean time, this short relation may serve to interpret the bizarre posture and habit expressed in that picture. I may remember, for the credit of that scarlet troop and their scholastic education, that not above one or two of the whole company, after they came to act in their country ministrations, proved anti-monarchic or fanatic. The effect of which good inclination towards the person and government of King Charles II. during the greatest disorders in his reign, appeared in a celebrated union of the Suffolk gentry in opposition to the rage of an impetuous republican faction flagrant in that country. The state of which strivings are represented in the Examen,² where it was requisite this mystery should be unfolded in order to resolve the famous law case between Soams and Bernardiston.

10. To return to our doctor; I need not stay to exaggerate his steps of proficiency in learning. It is enough to allege that he was an accomplished scholar which the forwardness of his advancement afterwards demonstrated. It could scarce fall out otherwise with him, having good parts and having run through the whole course of a large school, always diligently applied and little diverted by play as most of his age use to exceed in. And the methods of the

¹ This picture is still preserved at Rougham Hall, Norfolk. A copy of it may be seen in the *Autobiography of Roger North* first published in 1887, 4to., by the present Editor.

² *Examen*, p. 516 *et seq.*

school were no slight advantage; for the master required all his scholars to fill a quarter of a sheet of paper with their Latin themes and write the English on the opposite page. At the presenting them, a desk was set in the middle of the school, where the boy stood and rehearsed his theme in Latin or English as was required: and at this act, a form or two of boys were called for up from the lower end and placed by way of audience; and the master had opportunity to correct faults of any kind, pronunciation as well as composition. This discipline used generally in free schools, might prevent an obloquy; as when it is said that, in the grand assemblies for English affairs, there are found many talkers but very few speakers.

11. After the doctor left Bury school, he passed some time at his father's house before he went to the University; which time was not lost, for his father (according to the way he used with some other of his sons) read and interpreted to him a common logic, I think it was Molineus, with somewhat of metaphysics. This was some ease at his first entrance into the college; for many take such a distaste at what seems to them at first a mere rattle of words, that they are very slowly if ever reconciled: as the scholar, that could not conquer the sense of homogene and heterogene, declared, "if he were once at *home again*, he would never come *hither again*." I ought not here to let pass the care and capacity of a nobleman who performed the office of an academic tutor to his sons in order to ease their first undertakings at the university; of which there are not many examples.

12. At length, in the year 1661, our doctor was sent to Cambridge, and planted in Jesus College, under the tutorage of Dr. Cook. At that time, Dr. Ferne was vice-chancellor, and our liturgy *non-con*, Dr. Boldero, master of Jesus; with whom a previous acquaintance at Bury (of Dr. Stephens at least) might be the inducement of his being placed there. He was admitted a fellow-commoner. But when his grandfather, the first Dudley Lord North, died,¹ whereby the barony descended upon his father, he

¹ He was buried at Kirtling, 9th January, 166². As Dr. John North was at this time a Fellow of his College (see § 19), Roger North

left the post of a fellow-commoner and assumed that of a nobleman. But notwithstanding that, he was diligent in his studies, kept chapel, and in person performed most of his exercises as were consistent with his station in the college. His quality assured to him many advantages, especially in the way of preferment in the church. A master of arts of that college used to say that he would give all he was worth to be a lord's son ; meaning that such a one, of ordinary learning and morality, could not escape being, early or late, well preferred. This was no small encouragement to our doctor, who thought it an instance of his good fortune that his father outlived his grandfather ; otherwise the advantage of precedence, &c. had come short of him.

13. Here the doctor became settled in a severe course of study, which he pursued with all the ardour of one that knew nothing but his learning could make him considerable, or indeed capable to subsist as he desired ; which the posture of his family, as will be observed, made him most sensible of. We read of primitive inducements to enter into holy orders with open view of poverty and persecution ; but now the case is altered ; for the only inducements are plenty and preferment. And since it is so that the church is sought as a secular employment, we are not to expect, nor do we find, more rigour of life and practice in ecclesiastics than in other common men who seek their preferment in other professions. Therefore it is very unjust, under this change of motives, that the cause of religion should in the least suffer or be scandalised by the behaviour of particular clergymen. It is certain our doctor was embarked in that vessel ; and as for behaviour in it the rest of his life must show. At present we will leave him to his studies, and retreat awhile to consider his natural temper and propensities ; such as of one kind or other all men living have, and which came into the world with them, and are in their power to alter no more than complexion or stature.

14. The doctor's greatest, or rather only, infirmity was a

was mistaken in saying that his brother ever "*assumed the post of a nobleman*" at the University.

natural timidity, owing to a feeble constitution of body inclining to the effeminate. This, under some circumstances, and without a mind as vigorous and strong as his body was weak, might have oppressed him. He was always sensible of this weakness and, during the whole course of his life, laboured to conquer it and, as to outward appearance, prevailed ; and what was insuperable lay dormant within himself. One would have expected that a youth at the university, no freshman nor mean scholar, should have got the better of being afraid in the dark ; but it was not so with him, for when he was in bed alone he durst not trust his countenance above the clothes. For some time he lay with his tutor, who once, coming home, found the scholar in bed with only his crown visible. The tutor, indiscreetly enough, pulled him by the hair ; whereupon the scholar slunk down, and the tutor followed, and at last with a great outcry the scholar sprang up, expecting to see an enormous spectre.

15. Another time, which was after he was fellow of the college, in a moon-shine night, he saw one standing in a white sheet. He surveyed it with all his optics and was confirmed it was a spirit (as they call it), and resolved with himself if he could to find out what it came for. He got out of his bed, and being still of the same opinion, went nearer and nearer till he might touch it ; and then reaching out his hand he perceived it was only his towel hung against the wall with the moon shining full upon it ; and then he went to bed and slept well. I have heard him say, that he was satisfied the devil could not discover any man's thoughts ; else, he might shrewdly impose upon those who were inclined, like him, to be in that manner concerned. But it must be allowed that in this instance his strength of mind got the better of his bodily constitution, in forcing himself upon an experiment few would have cared to have made. I mention not these passages as of themselves worth remembering but to show that, as in the case of our doctor, a vigorous, active spirit may be quartered in a slight and feeble machine of flesh. But this propense disposition to fear had a worse effect upon his spirits when applied to the consequences of his life ; and not only sullied his character by making him seem avar-

cious, but even shortened his days, as by the following relation will be made to appear.

16. He had in his nature a principle of justice and duty inexpugnable; and was fortified with a resolution not to run in debt nor to help himself by any wicked compliances, whatever otherwise became of him. And while he was at the college, he just shifted with a small exhibition from his family; and if it had been less (according to his strict economy) he had still shifted; and more he did not expect, knowing that the hereditary honour must devour the fat of the land. And as to future preferments, nothing more uncertain. All his hopes hung upon mutable interests; and he found in himself but little inclination to courtship and flatteries for favours. His sheet anchor was the life of his life, a dear brother and friend, who might drop from him.¹ He had an ambition to be master of a good library, but scarce hoped ever to obtain it; and when he became able to make a small purchase of books, he was so far happy and in himself pleased that his management succeeded so well; which created in him a sort of joy in a perseverance, even after the just cause by his being better provided for, ceased.

17. It is certain that studious and thoughtful men, having an honest principle, are apt over critically to weigh the contingencies of life and possibilities of good or evil that may concern them; and as fears are always much stronger than hopes, commonly expect the worst; and that inclines them to act so as they think may best secure them; and in that course please themselves so long that, after all cause of fear removed, they continue the same caution which becomes an habitual pleasure to them and, towards old age when wants are least, engenders a vice called covetousness; and the rather because that doth not contravene their principle of justice and honesty, according to the sentence of an old usurer, that used to say, "Saving was the lawfullest way of becoming rich."

18. This was literally the case of our doctor who, by the ease he found in his mind out of a careful and saving course of life while it was most reasonable, could not for-

¹ The Lord Keeper.

bear a hankering after the same way even when he was preferred to his heart's content, and thereby the former reason ceased ; for so the mind is, as it were, habitually gratified. But how well he conquered himself in that, as in all other instances of inclination contrary to right reason and the decorum of his estate, such as all men must have more or less, the following account must determine. In the mean time, to demonstrate how obnoxious learned men are to these impotencies, I may remember the famous Dr. Cave and Dr. Beaumont,¹ men of gigantic knowledge yet having rose from small beginnings, under the same passion towards increase, and their fame not much impeached thereby.

19. But now, to recover our doctor, we find him at Jesus College settled in a fellowship which he procured not long after he was capable. I find the entry thus, *Admissus est socius Coll. Jes. Mandato et Literis Regiis* 28 Sept. 1666, when he was about six years' standing in the college. That society is divided into north and south, and the order is to elect two into each vacancy either north or south, as it may happen, to be presented to the Bishop of Ely who makes which he pleases fellow. The doctor came in the place of a northern man ; and the bishop (then Wren) made an odd interpretation ; for “It is strange,” said he, “that Mr. North should be looked upon as a northern man who had nothing north about him but his name.” Whether his lordship intended a compliment to the country or to the scholar is no profound question. This advancement was a great relief to the doctor's mind ; for thereby he had a sort of home with no small advantage in his economy, and all entirely consistent with his design of study, which he pursued with a full application.

20. Now he began to look after books and to lay the foundation of a competent library. He dealt with Mr. Robert Scot of Little Britain, whose sister was his grandmother's woman ; and, upon that acquaintance he expected and really had from him useful information of books and

¹ William Cave, author of the *Historia Literaria, &c.* His father was vicar of Pickwell in Leicestershire. Joseph Beaumont, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge ; son of a clothier at Hadleigh in Suffolk. The former died in 1713, the latter in 1699.

the editions. This Mr. Scot was in his time the greatest librarian in Europe; for, besides his stock in England, he had warehouses at Frankfort, Paris, and other places, and dealt by factors. After he was grown old and much worn by multiplicity of business, he began to think of his ease and to leave off. Whereupon he contracted with one Mills of St. Paul's Church-yard near £10,000 deep, and articed not to open his shop any more. But Mills, with his auctioneering, atlases, and projects, failed, whereby poor Scot lost above half his means. But he held to his contract of not opening his shop and, when he was in London, for he had a country house, passed most of his time at his house amongst the rest of his books; and his reading (for he was no mean scholar) was the chief entertainment of his time. He was not only an expert bookseller but a very conscientious good man; and when he threw up his trade, Europe had no small loss of him. Our doctor, at one lift, bought of him a whole set of Greek classics in folio, of the best editions. This sunk his stock¹ at that time; but afterwards, for many years of his life, all that he could (as they say) rap or run went the same way. But the progress was small; for such a library as he desired, compared with what the pittance of his stock would purchase, allowing many years to the gathering, was of desperate expectation.

21. He was early sensible of a great disadvantage to him in his studies, by the not having a good library in his reach; and he used to say that a man could not be a scholar at the second hand: meaning that learning is to be had from the original authors and not from any quotations or accounts in other books; for men gather with divers views and according to their several capacities, often perfunctorily and almost always imperfectly: and through such slight reading, a student may know somewhat but not judge of either author or subject. He used to say an old author could not be unprofitable; for although in their proper time they had little or no esteem, yet in after-times they served to interpret words, customs, and other matters found obscure in other books; of which A. Gellius is an

¹ That is *his capital*.

apt instance. He courted as a fond lover, all best editions, fairest characters, best bound and preserved. If the subject was in his favour (as the classics) he cared not how many of them he had, even of the same edition if he thought it among the best, either better bound, squarer cut, neater covers, or some such qualification. He delighted in the small editions of the classics by Seb. Gryphius; and divers of his acquaintance, meeting with any of them, bought and brought them to him; which he accepted as choice presents, although perhaps he had one or two of them before. He said that the black italic character agreed with his eyesight (which he accounted but weak) better than any other print, the old Elzevir not excepted, whereof the characters seemed to him more blind and confused than those of the other. Continual use gives men a judgment of things comparatively; and they come to fix on what is most proper and easy; which no man upon cursory view would determine.

22. His soul was never so staked down as in an old bookseller's shop; for having (as the statutes of the college required) taken orders, he was restless till he had compassed some of that sort of furniture as he thought necessary for his profession. He was, for the most part, his own factor and seldom or never bought by commission; which made him lose time in turning over vast numbers of books; and he was very hardly pleased at last. I have borne him company at shops for hours together and, minding him of the time, he hath made a dozen proffers before he would quit. By this care and industry at length he made himself master of a very considerable library, wherein the choicest collection was Greek.

23. It may not be amiss to step a little aside to reflect on the vast change in the trade of books, between that time and ours.¹ Then Little Britain was a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors; and men went thither as to a market. This drew to the place a mighty trade; the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned

¹ As to the state of the bookselling trade in the year 1666, after the great fire of London, see a curious letter from Evelyn to Lord Clarendon. (*Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 172.)

gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation. And the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversible men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse. And we may judge the time as well spent there, as (in latter days) either in tavern or coffee-house; though the latter hath carried off the spare hours of most people. But now this emporium is vanished and the trade contracted into the hands of two or three persons who, to make good their monopoly, ransack not only their neighbours of the trade that are scattered about town, but all over England, ay and beyond sea too and send abroad their circulators, and in that manner get into their hands all that is valuable. The rest of the trade are content to take their refuse with which, and the fresh scum of the press, they furnish one side of a shop, which serves for the sign of a bookseller rather than a real one; but, instead of selling, deal as factors and procure what the country divines and gentry send for; of whom each hath his book-factor and, when wanting any thing, writes to his bookseller and pays his bill. And it is wretched to consider what pickpocket work, with help of the press, these demi-booksellers make. They crack their brains to find out selling subjects and keep hirelings in garrets, at hard meat, to write and correct by the great; and so puff up an octavo to a sufficient thickness; and there is six shillings current for an hour and a half's reading, and perhaps never to be read or looked upon after. One that would go higher must take his fortune at blank walls and corners of streets, or repair to the sign of Bateman, Innys, and one or two more where are best choice and better pennyworths. I might touch other abuses, as bad paper, incorrect printing, and false advertising; all which and worse is to be expected if a careful author is not at the heels of them. But I fear I am led by these too far out of my way.

24. I return therefore to our doctor who, in his studies, was very regular and took his authors one after another and pursued effectually through them, not leaving behind any passage which he did not understand or at least criticize upon as far as he could reach. He noted as he went

along, but not in the common way by common-place; but every book severally, setting down whatever he found worthy to be observed in that book. And these he kept by themselves, as comments upon his authors, till he had a considerable body of them: but they are all confounded by a deplorable sentence, of which I shall give an account afterwards.

25. Greek became almost vernacular to him, and he took no small pains to make himself master of the Hebrew language, and seldom failed carrying a Hebrew bible (but pointed) to chapel with him. He was a notable husband of his time, and contrived to make his very scraps and intercalary minutes profitable; and accordingly, during those short intervals between dressing and dinner and such like attendances when he could not engage in the texture of his study, he used to get the best penned English books and read them aloud; which he said he did to form and improve his English style and pronunciation. And on such occasions he used to say, "It was a pity to lose any of his time." And for the advantage of his Latin, he used to keep his accounts in that language and as near the classic as he could.

26. He had a very researching spirit that would not rest even in ordinary company and conversation; for with such as studied he never failed to ask or propose some points of literature; and then, by throwing out his own sentiments, fish for the reasons and opinions of the company; and thereby, perhaps, found occasion to correct himself as to some oversights or mistakes he had been guilty of. In short, there was not an opportunity that fell in his way whereby he might improve himself, which he willingly let slip. And all this derived from a native good sense: he had nobody at his heels to urge him forward. His tutor was passive and the scholar soon fell to shift for himself, as a bird that had learned to pick alone, and having tasted the fruit of knowledge pursued it with an uninterrupted perseverance.

27. And somewhat less of that might have been better for him. He kept himself bent with perpetual thinking and study which manifestly impaired his health. Even conversation, which relieved others, was to him an incen-

tive of thought. He was sensible of this but did not affect any expedients of relief to his mind. I have heard him say that he believed if Sir Isaac Newton had not wrought with his hands in making experiments, he had killed himself with study. A man may so engage his mind as almost to forget he hath a body which must be waited upon and served : the doctor could overlook in himself what plainly appeared to him in others. After dinners and in evenings, he kept company with the fellows and fellow commoners in the garden ; but not long, for he could not be pleased with such insipid pastime as bowls or less material discourse such as town tales, or punning, and the like.

28. The doctor had no favourite diversion or manual exercise to rest his mind a little, which he held bent with continual thinking. His parents, who were much addicted to music, recommended that to him for a diversion and particularly the noble organ as the fullest, and not only a complete solitary concert but most proper for an ecclesiastic. And indeed, if study had not had the upper hand of all his intendments he must of course have taken up in that way, his parents themselves being so fond of it. For after the care of prayers and meals nothing was more constant and solemn than music was in that family. He was sensible the advice was very good, and accordingly got a small organ into his chamber at Jesus College, and suffered himself to be taught a lesson or two which he practised over when he had a mind to be unbent ; but he made no manner of advance, and one accident put him out of all manner of conceit of it. His under neighbour was a morose and importune master of arts; and one night the doctor could not sleep ; and thought to fit himself for it by playing upon his organ. The bellows knocking on the floor, and the hum of the pipes, made a strange din at midnight, and the gentleman below that never heard it so before could not tell what to make of it; but, at length he found it out to be his neighbour's organ. And thereupon, to retaliate this night's work, got out of his bed and, with his two couple of bowls, went to bowls by himself. This made a much louder noise than the organ, and the doctor was as much at a loss to know what that meant but, suspecting how the case stood, he left off and scarce ever

touched his organ after. The pleasure of music is like that of books, never true and good unless easily and familiarly read and performed ; and then nothing is more medicinal to a crazy and fatigued mind than that.

29. The doctor had found out one petit entertainment in his study besides books ; and that was keeping of great house spiders in wide-mouthed glasses, such as men keep tobacco in. When he had them safe in hold, he supplied them with crumbs of bread which they ate rather than starve : but their regale was flies which he sometimes caught and put to them. When their imprisonment appeared inevitable, they fell to their trade of making webs and made large expansions and more private recesses. It pleased him to observe the animals manage their interest in the great work of taking their prey. If it was a small fly given them, no more ceremony but take and eat him ; but if a great master flesh-fly, then to work twenty courses round and perhaps not come near him, for he had claws sharp as cat's ; and after divers starts to and fro, a web was with a hind leg dexterously clapped over two or three of his legs. After all his claws were in that manner secured, then, at a running pull, a broad web was brought over him which bound him hand and foot ; and, by being fixed to the spider's tail, the fly was carried off into one of his inmost recesses there to be feasted upon at leisure.

30. Spiders, like other creatures of prey, eat one another and, for their continual design of eating, are paid by a continual dread of being eaten. Two old spiders will not be kept in one glass unless accidentally known to each other or, it may be, male and female ; but to work they go coursing about till the one hath got the better of the other, and then falls to and heartily feeds upon him. They breed numerously ; and the young ones, after the example of their fathers, use the same trade. The danger as well as fear is common to all. There is little regard to relation or families ; and for that reason, like pikes in a pond, none ever takes a prey but he turns suddenly round lest another should take him. When the young are hatched and can run about, they lie still, waiting for advantages over the rest, and care not rashly to expose themselves. If they are disturbed and some made to run, the

whole nation is alarmed and many a life falls in the disorder before the wars cease ; and then each that survives makes merry with his booty. Thus their numbers are reduced to a very few who find means of retreating into castles of their own making. They cast their skins at certain periods ; and the manner of doing it is remarkable. They hang themselves to the ceiling of their web with their body downwards, and, holding themselves fast up by all their legs brought together remain striving and pulling each leg, till it comes out of the hose and their body is freed from its case ; and then they turn and run away leaving their old coat in their place ; as we often see them hanging in cobwebs. The signal to them, of this change coming on, is a dry parting of the skin upon their backs ; whereupon they fall to work as described. The doctor used to divert us with describing the course of life which his poor prisoners led.

31. When the doctor was abroad and absent from his studies, either by visits friendly meetings or attendances, his chief delight was in discourse. And he would apply himself to all sorts of company in a brisk and smart manner ; for he was very just and ready in his speech, facetious and fluent ; and his wit was never at a nonplus. I have known him at Act, keeping suppers as merry as the best, and though he drank little or nothing, he sparkled and reparteed, not only saving himself harmless (for the sober man is commonly the mark), but returning the bite. His sobriety was so extraordinary that, with entire assurance I can affirm that never in all his life did he know what a cup too much (as they term it) was. And this continence was more singular in him who was really a wit in conversation and his company desired by all people that knew him ; and it is well known how much such qualifications seduce men to come under the jurisdiction of the bottle. But this abstemiousness in extremity proved of ill consequence to his health, as will be showed in fit place.

32. When any eminent and extraordinary persons came to the university, of whom some had considerable recommendations and, for the better knowledge of it, made some short residence there and were by divers gentlemen civilly entertained, whether Swedish or Hungarian clergy,

Oxonians, or other home-bred virtuosi; the doctor very often, as he desired, made one in the conversation; whereby he thought to gather somewhat out of the common road. And, being desired, he often wrote, in the pocket-book of a foreigner, a sentence with his name; and that implies a small token, which I know well, being once induced by him to do the like. I remember one Mr. Wagstaff, a little gentleman, had an express audience at a very good dinner upon the subject of spectres, and much was said pro and con; but I carried away little except a good meal. The doctor often upon such occasions as these took me along with him; which was much for my advantage, if I had been capable of making a true use of it. But as for the spectre affair, it was not long before the gentleman published his notions in a little book of witchcraft.¹

33. At length the doctor declined the common parlour and spent the evenings in private society, sometimes at Dr. Shereman's the president's, and not seldom with his old master Dr. Stephens, who lived in the house over against the college. This agreed best with his humour who did not love morosity and sour looks. He was always jocose and free in his ordinary conversation; and that made him very popular with the airy folks, as young gentlemen, and even with the fair sex; for he was a comely person, and withal very decently behaved and respectful, which set off his wit; and with that he always made them an agreeable diversion. Whatever his company was he was always ready with proper discourse and, as I said, no niggard of it. If he moved subjects that seemed slight yet he had a design at the bottom, either to exercise some useful talent of his own or to squeeze somewhat useful out of others; and for that reason he affected most the acquaintance and society of such as were in station and learning his superiors.

34. Next to those, he affected to refresh himself with the society of the young noblemen and fellow-commoners; and he used to say that he found more of candour and

¹ *The Question of Witchcraft debated*, by John Wagstaffe, 2nd edit. 1671.

sincerity in them than in the graver sort. And for the like reason he inclined to those of the ancienter families, though he owned that the better parts were found with the latter. Sorting himself with these, he took great delight to oppose their raw wits with enigmatic questions and often out of the classics. I have seen him as merry as a schoolboy with a knot of them, like the younglings about old Silenus, in deep consult about reconciling that passage in Ovid—“*Sine pondere habentia pondus.*”

35. He was more attached to those who were noted for study and learning extraordinary, as Mr. Wa—le, Sir Edm—d B——n, &c.¹ which latter was a stout and early pretender to free-thinking. The doctor used to pump him to fetch up his most reserved reasonings, and used to say that he found such conversation profitable because it made him digest matters in his own mind more effectually than, not being opposed, he could have done. He was very intimate with Mr. Hatton, a fellow-commoner, afterwards Sir Christopher.² He was of a merry and free disposition and suited the doctor’s humour exactly; the rather because he found at the bottom of him a sound judgment and notable censure of most incidents; I might as well say persons. I have heard the doctor say, that that gentleman had more good sense and understanding than many were able to discern.

36. These were his university society; but, in and about London, he fell into more considerable and important acquaintance: for when he gave himself the satisfaction to reside a little with his best brother in London, he was introduced (and a small inlet served) to list him in a spacious catalogue of virtuosi. As the Capels and Godolphins; first, Mr. Sidney Godolphin³ of the Middle

¹ Robert Walpole, of Houghton, Esq. He was the father of the great statesman. He matriculated Fellow Commoner of Trinity College on the 6th July, 1667. He took the M.A. degree, *per literas regias*, in 1669. Sir Edmund Bacon, of Gillingham, succeeded his father as 2nd Baronet in 1666; he matriculated Fellow Commoner of Caius College, 30th March, 1667, and took the M.A. degree in 1669.

² Sir Christopher Hatton, of Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, Bart. He matriculated as Fellow Commoner of Jesus College 8th July, 1669. He took no degree.

³ He was engaged in a duel with Lieut. Duncomb in Nov., 1682.

Temple, a very ingenious person and master of an exquisite library, which to rummage was always a feast to the doctor. After the death of this gentleman, his brother Mr. Charles succeeded him as well in his chamber and library as in the doctor's acquaintance; and continued in the same chamber until, by the fire most unfortunately begun over head, he was burnt out and his choice collection of books consumed. I shall venture to name one or two more; the first was Sir John King who was a Tully in Westminster Hall.¹ Then Mr. William Longueville, in polite knowledge as well as skill in the law inferior to none; and, what exceeds all, of untainted integrity. And I might mention some ladies with whom he pretended to be innocently merry and free; and indeed more so (often) than welcome; as when he touched the pre-eminentiess of their sex. As, for instance, saying that of all the beasts of the field God Almighty thought woman the fittest companion for man. I have known him demand of the ladies at the upper end of the table, by right of their sitting there, that they would carve for him; "Else," said he, "let them come down to their places at the lower end." These passages, and the like, show somewhat of his humour which made him very popular with the ladies and young company. For notwithstanding all his seriousness and study, none ever was more agreeably talkative in fit company than he was.

37. But whatever was the cause, he had no relish at all for the conversation of his fellow collegiates; and they I presume had as little for his. He might not conform in their measures or methods of living; or there being a seeming inequality betwixt them, by his place in the university and advantages with respect to preferment; and his consorting rather with the younger gentlemen than the grave and, as he thought perhaps, empty seniors of the college, and affecting a select company of the learned sort in other colleges: all these ingredients turned sour, and jealousies, suspicions, and reflections with morose

Both combatants were seriously wounded, and Godolphin died of his wounds. (*Luttrell, Hist. Relation*, vol. i. p. 236.)

¹ For some account of Sir John King, see the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 411. For Mr. Longueville, *ibid.*, § 410.

countenances, bred out of them; so that he desired, if possible without his great inconvenience, to remove himself to some other college where, as he proposed, he might pass his time more agreeably.

38. And in this he was gratified by the fortune of a preferment which fell to his share. It was a sinecure in Wales, being a moiety of the tithes of Llandinam.¹ He had the good fortune to be capable of preferment in the church when Dr. Sheldon was Archbishop of Canterbury.² That prelate was a friend to quality, but more to scholarship and good order, and could not overlook one come forward in the university and so well recommended as the doctor was: and of his own motion, without any solicitation or so much as notice on the doctor's part, conferred this sinecure upon him and at the same time declared that he chose to give him that, rather than any other preferment; meaning such as in consequence might have removed him out of his station of learning and study in the university. And for the same reason it was most suitable to the doctor's own inclinations; for it set him free, with a power uncontrollable to settle himself in what way he pleased.

39. I have hitherto dealt enough with the slighter circumstances of our doctor's character. But we must now advance to affairs of greater importance. As to the public and the orders of the university about congregations and elections, which matters used to call the scholars from their studies into faction and party-making; the doctor was always disposed to be quiet and little concerned himself with them. He held a due respect to superiors, especially

¹ Llandinam in Montgomeryshire.

² "Sheldon," says Burnet, "was esteemed a learned man before the wars, but he was now engaged so deep in politics, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dexterous man in business; had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner; but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government and a matter of policy. By these means the king came to look on him as a wise and honest clergyman." —(*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 294.)

in politicals ; and in all his behaviour and conversation in the university he showed an innate hatred of popular faction ; as well that which had been seminated all over England and began to appear in the university against the court and government of King Charles II., as also all those perverse and contradictory doings in his time, too much agitated with intent to cross the heads or some as irrational designs. I have heard him say that he wondered men professing philosophy and learning should not judge, but follow one another like a rabble blindly, as if they had not the use of thinking. And he used to say sharper things ; but, for the sake of our *alma mater*, I forbear.

40. Few persons ever had more propitious circumstances of recommendation, to render him esteemed, than the doctor had ; for besides his person and countenance seeming always juvenile and flourishing, his relation to many noble families, being an excellent scholar, industrious, sober without interruption, and, in his manners, devoted to all good order, religion, and virtue, set him upon an eminence, and so many not common symptoms of speedy preferment made him be more than ordinarily observed and (perhaps) envied. Nothing observed of him turned more to his credit than his due attendance at public exercises and lectures of most faculties in the schools, which was an unusual but very profitable diligence. I have been told this observation of him by some of our neighbour ministers that were his contemporaries, and also that great account was made of him for it amongst them who know little besides such remarkables of him. His opinion was that, since books are so frequent as now they are, public lectures are not so necessary or (perhaps) useful as in elder times when first instituted, because the intent of them was to supply the want of books ; and now books are plentiful, lectures might better be spared and the promiscuous use of books come in the place of them.

41. The doctor conformed to all the orders of the college, seldom ate out of the hall, and then upon a fish-day only, being told it was for his health. He was constantly at the chapel prayers, so much as one may say that, being in town, he never failed. This, in the morning, secured his time ; for he went from thence directly to his study, with-

out any sizing or breakfast at all. Whilst he was at Jesus College coffee was not of such common use as afterwards, and coffee-houses but young.¹ At that time, and long after, there was but one kept by one Kirk. The trade of news also was scarce set up; for they had only the public Gazette, till Kirk got a written news-letter circulated by one Mudiman. But now the case is much altered; for it is become a custom after chapel to repair to one or other of the coffee-houses (for there are divers) where hours are spent in talking; and less profitable reading of newspapers, of which swarms are continually supplied from London. And the scholars are so greedy after news (which is none of their business), that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his chamber after prayers without doing his suit at the coffee-house; which is a vast loss of time grown out of a pure novelty, for who can apply close to a subject with his head full of the din of a coffee-house? I cannot but think that since coffee with most is become a morning refreshment, the order which I knew once established at Lambeth House or somewhat like it, might be introduced into the colleges; which was for the chaplains and gentlemen officers to meet every morning in a sort of still-house, where a good woman provided them their liquors as they liked best; and this they called their coffee-house.

42. The doctor's common-placing, which is a sort of dissertation upon some learned subject in the chapel, was a sort of preface to his attempting to preach; but he used a precaution more positive; for before he went into orders he procured a pulpit at one of the villages near Cambridge, usually served by a fellow of the college, and there preached once or twice. This he did to prove his forces and acquire some assurance, before he undertook to perform more publicly. The first sermon that he preached in a solemn audience, was before the king at Newmarket, upon a mission from the university.² That was a severe trial of his

¹ See the *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 226.

² This must have been in 1668. See *Cooper, Annals of Cambridge*, vol. iii. p. 528. Evelyn also notices a sermon preached before the king, eight years later, by Doctor North, whom he terms "a very young but learned and excellent person." (*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 483.)

spirits, and he went with great reluctance of mind; but reason and resolution prevailed; and he was not abashed at so great a presence. He said that he made it a law to himself to confine his view, above the people, to a certain space which he was not to exceed; and, in speaking to a multitude it is a good rule to mind none of them. The sermon is in print by John Hayes, 1671. The text was the first verse of the first Psalm, and the discourse moral, fit for an assembly not over-zealous that way. The king was pleased to signify his approval of it by saying, as he came out of the church, that "the preacher would soon be a bishop." And if his majesty had lived a little longer he might have proved himself a prophet; but his, as well as the doctor's untimely death fell in the way of that event. The ladies also were pleased to accept the doctor's discourse. One of them, being asked how she liked Mr. North's sermon, said, that "he was a handsome man and had pretty doctrine."

43. The doctor had an opportunity of exercising his divinity faculty upon one of his father's chaplains. His father, as had been sometimes used in that family, wrote formally to the University of Cambridge for a chaplain; and they sent him one Kitch——n, a townsman's son. He was very illiterate, but thought to supply that defect by extraordinary giftedness and behaved himself so fanatically that he was not to be endured. After him came a brother of his, thought to be a little better scholar and looking a little more like a minister of the English church. This latter, when the doctor was present, preached most damnable heresy; viz. that our blessed Saviour was the carnal son of Joseph. This nettled our young divine; and immediately after he had dined, he took him to task in his chamber and so tutored him that he thought fit, the next Sunday, to preach a recantation sermon, begging God's pardon and the congregation's excuse for his vile error and heresy unthinkingly preached the Sunday before.

44. The doctor was no great traveller; but sometimes he affected to go abroad and, if he had his choice, always on horseback; for he fancied that exercise good for his health and particularly in the case of the gravel, with which he was troubled. Between Cambridge and his

father's house, and to and from London, were the chief of his journeys. If his post was in the coach he chose to change with a horseman. Once, after riding a very long journey, he came into the room in the inn where the company was and threw himself down upon the bed. "Now," said he, "I have the pleasure of being very weary." He often visited Sir Roger Burgoyn, a virtuous and learned gentleman, near Cambridge. And once, at the instance of his mother, he made a visit to the Lady Hatton, her sister, at Kerby in Northamptonshire. He found his aunt there forsaken by her husband the old Lord Hatton.¹ He lived in Scotland-yard, and diverted himself with the company and discourse of players and such idle people that came to him, while his family lived in want at Kerby. He had committed the whole conduct there to a favourite daughter, who was not over-kind to her mother. This noble lord had bright parts, and professed also to be religious; for he published the book of Psalms, with a prayer suitable to each, formed by himself; which book is called Hatton's Psalms and may be found in the closets of divers devout persons. Such difference is often found between men's pretensions and actions. The famous Nando Meldrum used, in his drink, to curse him for writing psaumes (as he termed it) and not paying a debt due to him.

45. The good old lady gave her nephew as good entertainment as she could; that is, took him into hugger mugger in her closet, where she usually had some good pie or plum cake which her neighbours, in compassion, sent her in; for the house-keeping was very mean and she had not the command of anything. When her lord died, the care of her and of the whole family and the ruined estate of it, devolved upon that truly noble person her eldest son, who, by an unparalleled prudence and application, repaired the shattered estate, set his brother² (the incom-

¹ Christopher, first Lord Hatton, created a peer by the title of Baron Stratton, of Kerby, co. Northants, in 1643. He is mentioned by Horace Walpole in his *Catalogue of Noble Authors*. He died in 1670, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

² [This gentleman is mentioned in the Lord Keeper's Life with the same encomium; but I cannot yet find by any of the author's papers upon what account.]—Note in the first Edition.

parable Charles Hatton) and his sisters at ease. And his signal and pious care of his good mother is never to be forgot: for he took her destitute of all jointure and provision home to him, and entertained her with all the indulgence and comfort he could. And the lady was pleased to declare that the latter end of her age was the beginning of the true comfort of her life.

46. It may be observed by those that know much of times and read the historical accounts given of them to posterity, that many, and perhaps the most important passages, are not to be found in the histories. As in topography, some but not half of the remarkables of a country are to be found. Where in our most voluminous writers, to say no worse, do we find an account of the providential escape of this noble lord? I must profess that, in my judgment, considering his apparent goodness and merit and the tremendous calamity that fell upon his family from the hand of Heaven, his person was almost miraculously preserved. There never was an incident more indicative of special providence than this was. Therefore I may be excused if I give here a short memorandum of it. His lordship was governor of Guernsey, and settled with his family in the castle. There was his mother, his then wife (the Countess of Thanet's daughter), and divers of his children, and many servants. The castle stood upon the rocks washed by the sea; and one night, when all were in bed and his lordship and his lady asleep, a storm of thunder fired the magazine of gunpowder and blew up the whole fabric; his mother and wife, and some of his children and some others, were killed right out. His lordship, in his bed, was carried and lodged upon the castle wall, whence was a dismal precipice among the rocks into the sea. His lordship, perceiving a mighty disorder, was going to step out of his bed to know what the matter was; which if he had done he had been irrecoverably lost, but in the instant of his moving a flash of lightning came and showed him the precipice; whereupon he lay still till people came and took him down. And so was this noble lord wonderfully, or rather as I said miraculously, preserved.

47. The greatest of the doctor's travels was into Wales, to visit and be possessed of his sinecure of Llandinam. His

design was to have gone incognito, but by means of an extraordinary civility he was discovered and then he was forced to receive a great deal more; for falling among the Morgans and Mansells, who honoured him with a claim of kindred, he could not pass without being generously entertained. He came to a Welsh village (to say no worse) in order to lodge for one night; and the gentleman that lived in the town, being informed that a genteel young parson was come to lodge at the alehouse, sent and invited him to take a hard bed (as they say) at his house. The doctor complied, and, after his name, relation, and errand was squeezed out of him, he must submit to be conducted from house to house, company of the country attending; and at some he stayed a week, or less as need required; for he made himself acceptable every where, conforming to the ordinary ways of entertainment in use there and consistent with his character. Sometimes, in the afternoon they went to a clean but mean alehouse, and the maid that served the Welsh ale usually made a curtsy and drank to the best in the company, who kissed her, and so the frolic went round. But once, coming to the doctor, he drank his cup but omitted the ceremony that was to follow. The maid, who perhaps had more mind to the smooth-chinned parson than to any of the rest, made him a curtsy, and "Sir," said she, "I perceive you do like no Wels'oman." I remember the doctor told us that, when he came to his parish, he found the humour of the people very different from what, on like occasions, was often found in England. For instead of grumbling at and affronting a new tithe-monger come down amongst them, too often known in English villages, the parishioners came about and hugged him, calling him their pastor and telling him they were his sheep. After he had made his escape from his many good landlords, he got him back to his college as fast as he could.

48. Whilst the doctor passed some of his time at his best brother's house in Oxfordshire, he desired to make use of that opportunity to visit the University of Oxford and to make himself acquainted with some of the eminent men there. So we equipped, and fell in on the road with

a reverend divine, one Dr. Hutton,¹ fellow of a college, and minister of Aynhoe on the Hill, who was bound for the same port. Neither he nor our doctor knew each other but by rumour. But as travellers for their pastime on the road love to get acquainted, so they began a sort of amity as well as familiarity. This was a most propitious incident; for Dr. Hutton not only entertained us most humanely, but attended the doctor in his visits of the colleges and schools, and introduced him into the knowledge of the heads of the university, and particularly the great Dr. Fell,² who was truly great in all his circumstances, capacities, undertakings, and learning, and above all for his super-abundant public spirit and good will, which shined in his care of youth, especially those of quality, in the university. O, the felicity of that age and place when his authority swayed! He led us about and showed his printing-office and talked of his designs there, and the discourse fell wholly upon learning, books, and learned men. But I was not capable to bring away much and remember none; and for that reason do not take upon me to account for any thing at all of it. But I am sure our doctor was much caressed and, with those persons whom he happened to converse with seeming the most considerable, was courted as one whose conversation they apparently affected to compass and enjoy.

49. The addition of this Welsh preferment, being as I take a cure of souls, though a vicar endowed exercised it, might second the doctor's desires to change his college, as being incompatible with his fellowship, on which account only I believe he stayed so long there. Thereupon he procured himself to be admitted of Trinity College had a chamber assigned him and removed all his effects thither. He used to allege many reasons for his choice of that

¹ Matthew Hutton, Fellow of Brasenose. "He was a learned antiquary, but never published anything. His collections, which are large and curious, have been made use of by divers of our English antiquaries, and are often quoted."—Hearne's *Collections*, vol. iii. p. 182. (*Oxford Hist. Soc.*)

² John Fell. He was made Dean of Christ Church in 1660, and Bishop of Oxford in 1676. He held the deanery with the bishopric till his death in 1686.

college; as that he valued much the company of that society where resided many excellent persons; and he perceived more of the humane and polite in that than in the lesser colleges. But, above all, the leading card was the value he had for the more than thrice excellent master, Dr. Barrow. He had long ago contracted a familiar acquaintance, I may say friendship, with him, and they used each other in a most delightful communication of thoughts. The good Dr. Barrow ended his days in London in a prebend's house that had a little stair to it out of the cloisters, which made him call it a man's nest, and I presume it is so called at this day.¹ The master's disease was a high fever. It had been his custom, contracted when (upon the fund of a travelling fellowship) he was at Constantinople, in all his maladies to cure himself with opium; and being very ill (probably) he augmented his dose and so inflamed his fever, and at the same time obstructed the crisis; for he was as a man knocked down, and had the eyes as of one distracted. Our doctor, seeing him so, was struck with horror; for he, that knew him so well in his best health, could best distinguish; and when he left him he concluded he should see him no more alive; and so it proved.

50. After the death of this most worthy person, our doctor had the mastership of Trinity conferred upon him; and thereby was possessed, as he thought, of all the ease and content he could by any means propose to himself; and from thence he dated, as from an epocha, the repose he had in present and in future hoped to enjoy. He accounted himself very well settled when he lived as a common master of arts in the college without any aid from the revenues of the society. What then must the alteration be when he was master, and had so great an increase of revenues and accommodation as that station afforded? But oh, the difference between a private condition and ma-

¹ Dr. Pope tells us that he died "in mean lodgings at a sadler's near Charing Cross, an old, low, ill built house, which he had used for several years; for though his condition was much bettered by his obtaining the mastership of Trinity College, yet that had no bad influence upon his morals; he still continued the same humble person, and could not be prevailed upon to take more respectable lodgings." (*See the Biographia Brit.*, vol. i. p. 634.)

gistracy! Before, when the doctor had no charge of government upon his spirits but of himself and his studies only, he was in all respects easy. But after this preferment, than which nothing could have more nicely suited his desires, he fell under such gnawing cares and anxieties that he had small joy of his life; and it was really shortened thereby; of which in its proper place. He was (to speak ironically) so unadvised as to think of duty and justice in government; and, for that reason he ought to be made, as he was, an example for the terror of others who by rare chance may fall under the mistake of such bad maxims. But here we are a little too forward.

51. During his former residence in Trinity College, the doctor persevered in his application to the Greek literature; and his time and pains therein were not lost, for he made such advances that he was reputed one of the best Grecians in the university. And accordingly, in November 1672,¹ he was elected Greek professor. That service obliged [him] to read lectures publicly in the schools at appointed times; which he performed most punctually and thereby confirmed the opinion that was preconceived of him; for he was really a prime critic in that language. He used to say that a due knowledge of the Greek tongue was absolutely necessary for a divine: and as the Grecian, so the divine. He much wondered to see that skill so much slighted and laid aside as it was by the clergy in general. For his part, he did not see with what face a man could pretend to be of the clergy and not understand Greek; since, not only the New Testament, but most of the eminent ecclesiastical writers were in Greek: and the idiom of that language (not justly transferable into any common speech) gives the greatest light towards clearing obscure questions in divinity. Latin and the vernaculars westward, which are almost all deduced under it, carry nearly the same idiom; but the Orientals and Greek partake not so much of them.

52. There is a notable recognition of our doctor's skill in Greek, left by Dr. Duport his predecessor, who was a

¹ He succeeded Thomas Gale, who had been elected 27th April and resigned on 22nd October, 1672, on being appointed Master of St. Paul's School.

famous Grecian.¹ It is a congratulatory poem upon our doctor's election ; and it is to be found printed among his poems in octavo, by John Hayes, 1676, and it was designed as a compliment for the doctor's honour, who, by many, was thought too young for that post. This poem might pass very well, but for one pun, which is this,

— comique Nubes
Profligas, Aquilo, et facis sudum.

So because Boreas in Homer is a clearer of the air, North must interpret Aristophanes' comedy entitled *Nubes* and, by the style of *Aquilo*, make clear weather. This Dr. Duport was a very little man and inclined strangely to such little conceits. Even in the chair, when he was deputed *regius professor* of divinity and styled *pater*, he could not forbear saying, “*Sum paterculus sed non Velleius.*” But bating him that ace he was truly a great man.

53. Our doctor, before he was master of Trinity, or had any preferment of the gift of the crown, waited as clerk of the closet to King Charles II. That post was not only a sure track to preferment in the church but agreed exceeding well with his humour ; for there he lived upon a hill and saw how the world went, and withal had his cell to retire to, which was a very convenient lodging in White-hall upon the parade of the court, near the presence chamber. His diet was provided for him ; and the chaplains in waiting were company to his wish. At the beginning he was in danger of being troubled with impertinent visits ; which had proved cross to him whose design and pastime was reading and thinking ; for at court there is always a sort of people whose day labour is having nothing to do, and who are apt to say, “Come, shall we go and spend half an hour with Mr. Clerk of the Closet ?” and, adding, “to drink a glass of wine or ale,” who could resist ? But he had a caution given him by a friendly old courtier, not to entertain at his chamber upon any account, not so much

¹ James Duport, D.D., Fellow of Trinity. He was elected professor of Greek in 1639. He was deprived of his professorship, by the commissioners for reforming the University, in 1654. Reinstated at the Restoration, he resigned the professorship in favour of his pupil, Isaac Barrow, in 1660.

as with small beer in hot weather; for if he did his quiet would forsake him. All advice is acceptable to those who are inclined beforehand to take it; as the doctor was, who lived like a hermit in his cell in the midst of the court, and proved the title of a foolish French writer, *La solitude de la cour*.

54. I have heard him say that in times before the Reformation, by institution or usage, the clerk of the closet was the proper confessor of the court. And when he resided there, divers persons far from Papists, especially ladies, who thought auricular confession though no duty a pious practice, applied to him for like purposes, and to ease their minds. And he as piously conformed, and did the office of a pastor or *parochus* of the court. I have also heard him say that, for the number of persons that resided in the court, a place reputed a centre of all vice and irreligion, he thought there were as many truly pious and strictly religious as could be found in any other resort whatsoever. And he never saw so much fervent devotion and such frequent acts of piety and charity, as his station gave him occasion to observe there. It often falls out that extremes are conterminous, and as contraries illustrate each other so here virtue and vice. Therefore, it is not reasonable to condemn aggregates of any denomination, or the individuals separately for the practices of some, although they may be the ruling party amongst them.

55. During this sunshine of favour the doctor obtained a prebendary of Westminster;¹ which also suited him well because there was a house and accommodations for living in town, and the content and joy he conceived in being a member of so considerable a body of learned men, and dignified in the church, as the body of prebends were; absolutely unlike an inferior college in the university. Here was no faction, division or uneasiness, but, as becoming persons learned and wise, they lived truly as brethren, quarrelling being never found but among fools or knaves. He used to deplore the bad condition of that collegiate church, which to support was as much as they

¹ He was installed 11th Jan., 1673.—*Le Neve's Fasti.*

were able to do. It was an extensive and industrious managery to carry on the repairs. And of later time so much hath been laid out that way as would have rebuilt some part of it. This residence was one of his retreats, where he found some ease and comfort in his deplorable weakness; as I shall show when I come to that melancholy pass.

56. The doctor was much honoured by the countenance, or rather friendship, of the Duke of Lauderdale. He was his majesty's commissioner for Scotland; and being himself a very learned man,¹ was a great favourer and encourager of all such. The doctor came first into his acquaintance by the means of the duchess. When she was a widow, with the title of Countess of Dysart, she lived at Fakenham in Suffolk, not far from the doctor's relations, who neighbourly corresponded.² This lady's two sons, the Talmaches, and the doctor were playfellows at school and at home; and after he was grown up she desired to see him, and he often waited upon her and most respectfully answered her severe catechizations; for she was a lady of abundant wit and knowledge of state affairs and the court. Thence the passage was direct into the conversation of the duke, who, finding the doctor a well-read scholar, judicious, and in the learned languages a critic, and what at that time was too much wanted among the men of parts, of loyal principles sustained by rules of duty and policy inexpugnable, greatly esteemed and frequently admitted him into a familiarity of converse with him. He communicated his library, which was spacious and furnished with books that were curious and scarce, especially in matters relating to the sacred history; and there was opportunity of discoursing of editions and criticism, and also of what had been much the duke's study, the subjects of popery and fanaticism.

¹ "He was," says Burnet (who was well acquainted with him), "very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern; so that he had great materials. He had, with these, an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. 'He was a man,' as the Duke of Buckingham called him to me, 'of a blundering understanding.'"—(*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 162.)

² See *Life of the Lord Keeper*, § 260.

57. It happened that once, when the king was at Newmarket, the duke though no horse-racer attended.¹ And it concerned him not a little to be continually near the king; for at that time the spirit of sedition was rampant. And with that spirit the court itself was not a little infected, which pointed not only at the Duke of York and his succession but, for like ends, at the king himself; but most of all at the Duke of Lauderdale who stood like a rock in the way. It had been a court trick, when any points of consequence and disagreeable to the ministers were to be gained by teasing, to take the opportunity of the Newmarket meetings, when the grave counsellors were at London or elsewhere far enough off. Therefore the duke, knowing that the stress would light upon the affairs of Scotland, his province, and person, in order to get him if possible removed, thought fit to be, as they say, at the shaving of his own beard. The body of the University of Cambridge complimented the duke with an invitation to an entertainment, which he accepted; and nothing was wanting that could be thought of to make it agreeable to him. In the Regent-house he was placed at the upper end of the table, and there saw and heard the manner and forms of creating a doctor of divinity; and, as a respect to the duke, that degree was solemnly conferred upon our doctor as one of his favourites; and by that opportunity the doctor came into his degree easily, which, in the common track, had been both expensive and troublesome. Then the duke had the offer of doctor of laws, with which statesmen, as suitable to their profession, are ordinarily complimented. The duke accepted it, and the grace of the houses for it passed in form. Then, the orator having made his eloquent speech, all was thought to be over. But the duke rising up began with a loud voice "*Non conabor*," &c. to answer the orator, and concluded in a stately form, with thanks to his *alma mater*. One thing was remarkable: the duke was one of the tallest and most bulky men one should ordinarily see,² and the orator the least. But whether the duke complimented the

¹ This was during the summer of 1676. See *Cooper's Annals of Cambridge*, vol. iii. p. 573.

² "He was very big; his hair red, hanging oddly about him; his

orator with an advantage in eloquence as himself had in figure, those who saw and heard both may determine. But certainly the discourse of the professor in executing the forms of creating the doctor of divinity, all in purest Terentian Latin and most apt invention, was an accomplished delight and entertainment to us aliens that never heard the like before. But, in conclusion of all these academic operations, we have got a finished doctor of divinity ; and now we may with better warrant, than as hitherto for pure compendium, give him the style accordingly.

58. After the death of the excellent Master Dr. Barrow,¹ who sat as vice-chancellor at the solemnity beforementioned, our doctor, as I hinted before, was preferred to the mastership of Trinity College. That was a settlement beyond which his ambition had no farther view : and he was not in his nature capable of being more happy than he was at his first entrance upon that charge. But how circumstances altered to prevent his ease and content unto a state of trouble, misery and finally loss of life, I am to make the conclusion of this narrative. But in the mean time, upon his leaving his attendance at court, which had made a great gap in the midst of his studies and caused him often grievously to complain, he was restored to his text and might prosecute his designs in his beloved college, where he found himself posted with honour and advantage ; and, as it was his desire so it was his fate to die master of Trinity.

59. And now, before we advance farther, it will not be amiss to take some account of the doctor's studies, relate what we know of them and of his designs to publish ; as he had surely done if he had lived to have (or to have thought he had) finished any of the works upon his anvil. And considering I have here undertaken the life of a person who, like a flourishing fruit-tree, blossomed fairly, and then underwent a fatal blight that destroyed fruit and tree altogether, for which reason there will not fall out much of action to be historically related, I may be in-

tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to."—(*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 162.)

¹ He died on the 4th May, 1677, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 7th. (*Col. Chester, Westminster Abbey Registers.*)

dulged in speculation, which had been the chief work of his life. The work of philology being well over, the doctor did not confine himself to the study of theology, though that was become his avowed profession, but extended his inquiries into the dark recesses of learned antiquities, languages, and philosophy, and making comparisons of it in the several ages of its flourishing ; noting the various sects and the changes in their opinions and the transitions from one sect to another. He took notice that such a history was much wanted ; but, of collectors and transcribers of sentences, that there were more than enough. He was partial to Plato and recommended the reading his works to students. He put out an edition of some select pieces, which concerned chiefly the catastrophe of Socrates. This was published in octavo, at Cambridge, 1673, and entitled, "*Platonis Dialogi Selecti.*" In a short preface, the doctor shows how moral philosophy came into Greece, gives a short character of Socrates and his manner of teaching, and then the occasion of this publication and why of these rather than any other pieces of Plato ; for these contain a knowledge that every one ought to covet ; whereas the others contain many dry speculations fit enough for the proper time, and now for such as covet to know every thing. And hereby this choice is had at a cheap rate which, in the whole works, would be a great expense ; and he wonders that Aristotle had been often published in separate volumes, but never Plato. He gives a short account of each of the pieces, and why he chose the translation of Ficinus rather than Serranus, and of his adding a sectionary index to the whole. There are some other pieces of ancient philosophy which are published and joined in a collection of the like, made by Dr. Thomas Gale. These were published in 1671 ; and of our doctor's share, he gives this account :— "*Habes denique Pythagorica Fragmenta. Videre ea quidem jam sœpius lucem transfusa in plures, credo, formas quam ipsius Pythagoræ Anima. Ex iis alia nunc primo Latine versa, alia autem notis illustrata debes Johanni North, V.C. qui generis sui claritudinem virtute et eruditione exæquat.*" Nothing more of his hath come through the press to my knowledge ; but, by what I have heard him say, I guess he intended to

publish more of the like; intending thereby to draw the scholars off from their rigid attachments to Aristotle into an acquaintance with Plato; and if he had lived he might have done much more towards it, if what he did had not a considerable effect.

60. It seems the doctor thought Plato's way of philosophizing more consonant to Christian morality than Aristotle's was. The ancient fathers inclined that way, until a known course of corruption in the hierarchy bred an occasion to abandon Plato and to take up with Aristotle, whose discipline was apter for maintaining indeterminate disputes about any thing or nothing, truth or falsity and error, almost indifferently. What else could be the meaning of their pouring out of Aristotle that empty jargon, of matter and form, upon the holy eucharist; by which, and many syllogistical artifices, they maintain their gainful impositions and particularly that monstrous absurdity transubstantiation. Which they fortify with chimeric notions of substance and accident, out of the same non-sensical philosophy. What imports Aristotle's having had a transcendent genius, if his insufferable domineering and contempt of others led him to divide from truth, and to take up with certain schemes of words that signify nothing, whereby to make all his own?

61. The doctor's hand-writing was very neat and clean, much resembling what, now-a-days, they call an Elzevir letter. He used a smooth and round pen, without cutting his letters which were singularly well formed and legible; and yet not like to any other man's hand-writing, which happens to many that write for themselves and much in a solitary way. His characters were small but very black using no abbreviations. But above all his Greek writing was exquisite, which demonstrated that he wrote a great deal of it. I have seen many of his letters and also notes upon authors; and do not remember to have seen a blot or obliteration in them. This argues a very considerate proceeding and a clear understanding which, going before the pen, prevented the occasion of many corrections and alterations, as most ordinary writers are tormented with. And it seems that, for order of writing, he chose the pattern of printed books.

62. As for the arts and sciences that flourished in his time, he desired to be a stranger to none ; but did not professedly pursue them. Upon this account he applied to the mathematics but as a friend and not as a lover. He used to converse much with Dr. Barrow (who, in those sciences had gone great lengths) which one would have thought should have fired him ; but it had a most contrary effect, for it cooled him and made him abandon the study. The doctor represented to him what pains he had taken, and particularly that he had spent more time upon one proposition, which was to prove an arch of a circle equal to a straight line (in order to square the circle) than most men spend in qualifying themselves for gainful professions ; and all that he got was a demonstration that it was impossible to be done. He found reason to suspect that every arch and every straight line were incommensurable, and then, as he observes, "*actum est de tetragonismo,*" there is an end of squaring the circle. Hereby the doctor perceived that, if he pursued mathematics, he must adhere, and neglect all his other studies and designs in which he found himself much advanced. Sir Isaac Newton was in the college a contemporary and, being made by nature and inclination for mathematical studies, had much encouragement and assistance therein from Dr. Barrow who, as some say, first hinted to him the plan of his great cosmographical system. But, however, it falls out oddly that, to the best of my remembrance, Dr. Barrow is not so much as mentioned in any of his writings. This being so, old Aristotle himself consulting his own fame could not have done better.

63. While the doctor lived in Jesus College and was fellow, he had but one solitary pupil ; and that youth¹ discovered to him an inclination to know what the mathematics were. His tutor thereupon procured him Fournier's first six books of Euclid, and wished him to read them. The lad fell to and, after the definitions, read the two first propositions and then remonstrated to his tutor that he found no encouragement to go on ; for there was a triangle and a straight line and a stir to prove equalities

¹ His brother Roger. Cf. *Autobiography of Roger North*, § 21.

that were plain of themselves. The doctor answered, "that if any one read mathematics and was not delighted, he might take it for granted that he did not understand what he read." Thereupon the scholar read farther, and found that a line struck obliquely over one or two others, plainly proved that the three angles of every triangle were equal to two right ones. And then, mastering the 47th proposition and some others, he acquired such a taste as carried him through a student's course; and though he was no great proficient yet he was fond of the mathematic sciences ever after.

64. As for the philosophy whereof M. Descartes was the celebrated author; the doctor made himself master of it so far, that he could show wherein it was coincident with and wherein it differed from the ancient sects, and so brought it into connexion pursuant to the design of his intended history of philosophy. But he did not set up for a dogmatist in particulars, and chose to keep upon the volant, free to discourse and censure as he from time to time thought fit, declining all *ipse dixit* or taking sides as of a sect or party. In his conversation upon these subjects, he kept to the method of the schools, where *solvit*, or *non solvit* rather than true or false carries it; though the former is not the criterion of the latter; for there may be many solutions and yet there can be but one truth. And it may happen that, according to our understandings, one truth in our judgment shall appear to be no solution. Among his virtuosi friends and acquaintance, he loved to spar questions and foment disputes and then whip into the chair as moderator, siding as he thought the reason swayed: and they must look well to their hits; for a false or weak reasoning seldom escaped him; and they must make good their arguments or let go their hold. His hardest task was to keep his disputants in due bounds; for in the most disinterested altercations heats will kindle and exasperate, till the parties can scarce understand one another. And in this manner the doctor and his near friends, with utmost content and satisfaction, used to entertain their hours, when affairs permitted them to be so happy.

65. I have observed that men professing general learning, after they have coursed through all sciences and literate enquiries, have at length determined their thoughts towards some particular subjects which have proved to be favourites, and have become so taken up with them that their application hath been chiefly regarding them ; and from thenceforth matters relating thereto shall be more strictly canvassed and pursued than any other ; and all in hopes of making some advances therein. Accordingly the doctor began to concentrate his thoughts to certain particular subjects, and had formed the outlines of some tracts he intended to compose for the improvement of learning in those topics which he thought had been imperfectly held forth and not well understood. And of these, according to my best remembrance of his ordinary talk and the hints he threw out, I purpose to give the best account I can.

66. I am well assured that he intended to compose a critical history of philosophy and philosophers, with the originations, connexions, transitions and alterations of the opinions, and also of the several sects how they sprang up one under another, comparing their tenets and showing wherein they agreed and disagreed, with their squabbings and altercations ; and so coming down so low as his own time, to show how the moderns had borrowed from the ancients and what they had set up new of their own. He used to say there was little of this kind of learning to be found in print, and, being once well done it would be very useful to scholars. I do not remember that Rapin's Works, which tend a little that way, were then published ; but his design is more criticism than history. The doctor also intended a history of the heathen theology which he said was almost wholly wanted. As for comments and notes of his own upon the Greek and Latin classic authors, he had great heaps of them by him. But, as I think, he intended not to publish any but occasionally, as authors might happen to be reprinted, when they might be serviceable. And of that sort were his notes upon some forementioned pieces of the Platonic school, put out by Mr. Gale.

67. In Christian theology he had a full intention to publish a thorough confutation of the Socinians; and some shrewd touches that way were found in a note-book which by chance escaped the fire, as I shall show. I have heard him speak much of the importance of that controversy; and he was so far a prophet as to declare he thought that heresy would soon break out and insult Christianity itself. I do not remember he discovered any disposition to attack the papists or sectaries, though he had considered them well; but he might think there were labourers enough at that oar. In politics he had no mean designs. I think they may be reduced to three subjects.

68. (1) To expose a deceitful notion of a republic, which he accounted the worst of tyrannies under a mask of liberty, showing the diabolical oppressions, injustices, and ingratitudo of communities acted in course, and especially against good and just men. He said he would go no farther for this than a history of the republic of Athens, which would show it fully. The government of that city came nearest to a pure democracy of any that ever was in the world. It suffered continual changes (such is the natural tendency of a populace), and at length fell under tyranny in the worse sense, which is the proper end of all popular sway. (2) He intended a confutation of Mr. Hobbes (a writer at that time much in vogue); and (3) as an appendant to that, a discourse of natural justice amongst men, all positive laws whatsoever abstracted; that is, how all men according to right reason are bound to live together, if no pact or law of any kind had been ever established. This was the forwardest of any design he had. I have cast an eyeglancing at a large folio book of his own hand-writing (and very fair) upon that subject, but might not read any part of it. So nice was he of even his friend's censure of what he did: how much more of the public? I neither know nor believe that he made any person living acquainted with his scheme; but he hath often in discourse proffered divers of his notions, which I thought very singular. I do not know of any other writing design he had; but am sure his mind was always full of various flowers which often in discourse broke from him, and were such as, if he had lived, might have proved subjects of useful treatises.

And as to his tenets and opinions in those he was at work upon, I shall, from the light of the little note-book I have of his, give some faint account.

69. By what has been said it appears that he was extremely nice in all his compositions; and, however it fared with the subject matter, he was sure never to be pleased with his own composition and style. He never used an amanuensis; therefore he might justly, as he often did, complain of the drudgery of composing and of the great difficulty of writing well. He was much taken with the penning of the History of the Royal Society by Dr. Sprat, and said, that if he might so acquire the style of that writer, he would read no other book for a whole year. He used also to say, that study and invention were his pleasures but penning his greatest labour and pain. It is thought that the Lord Verulam invented and suggested; but then, as to the transcribing or even methodising his matters, he rested himself upon others. The Romish interest have numerous learned societies and not a few of the same order; witness the Jesuits who communicate in any great work that is to be published, by sending out tasks to their brethren as they think will be best performed; all which returned, and composed by that college or person who sits at the helm, a stately work is launched. These are not in the power of a solitary author whose heart is broken by the pains of digesting and transcribing, to say nothing of the charge of amanuenses and copiers. It is pity there is not the like communication amongst us.

70. This niceness of our doctor, being so very severe as it was, had an unlucky turn by keeping back the closing of any work. He never thought it complete as it should be and would do all himself, invent, consult, compare, digest, and transcribe, and never used any amanuensis or copier and, by this means, the public lost all the fruit and he the credit of all his labours. He had a ready, clear, and significant style, and wanted nothing, but what too many have too great a share of, confidence and assurance of himself. This may appear in those scraps of his which are in print. But another inconvenience attended his labours to be exact: and it was this. He found that by

often iterating, his thoughts lost of their force and his pen grew stiff (as they say that painters, in working up, lose the spirit of the first draught). I have heard him complain sensibly of these inconveniences; but such helps as I have mentioned would have given him great ease, but he was not disposed to favour himself that way. This slowness of his penwork was a prejudice to him in other respects; for his mind was full and wanted a discharge; and that drew a weight upon his spirits. Sorrow, they say, is eased by complaining though to the winds. So a learned man that gathers for writing may be so full charged that, until he hath unloaded his thoughts upon paper and to his satisfaction, he finds little ease.

71. But the worst of all was that, while his writings were in this manner retarded, young as he was, a fatal sickness overtook him, whereby all at once he was utterly disabled to pursue or finish any thing he had, at any time of his life, given a beginning to. Under this infliction, finding himself, as to all future study and composing in a desperate condition, he adjured his¹ best friend and trustee of all his concerns (whom he had, in his will, made sole executor) to burn every writing of his own hand left behind him, immediately after his death. And he would not be entreated to the contrary, nor satisfied without a solemn promise of him in express words, that he would faithfully do it. It is probable he had done it himself; but life is scarce ever without hopes of better than utter extremity; and it was possible for God to restore him to his strength of body and mind. But it fell out otherwise; for his condition was languishing to the time of his death, of which the melancholy account is at hand: and he was so far desperate as to all study that, if he attempted any thing tending that way, it brought epileptic fits upon him which tortured and exceedingly dispirited him; so that his friend could not deny what he so fervently asked. Accordingly not long after his death, all his critical notes, lectures, sermons, animadversions, treatises, and discourses of all kinds, perfect if any were so and imperfect, useful or not, went altogether in lumps as innocent martyrs to the fire.

¹ The Lord Keeper Guilford.

72. But it hath fallen out that one of his pocket-books in octavo, containing some of his extemporaneous thoughts upon various subjects out of all order, some with ink, but most with red chalk or black lead, clapped down there on a sudden, lay down there out of the way and escaped this general conflagration. And however I am suspended from communicating these notes in any way (for such extemporaneous scraps must needs carry many defects) I shall nevertheless give a short account of the chief of them, and thereby demonstrate the tendency of his designs and studies.

73. The subjects may be ranged under these general heads: 1. Divinity, 2. Criticism, 3. Philosophy, 4. Politics. As to the first, it appears the doctor was prepared to batter the atheists and then the Arians and Socinians. After having laid open their strengths, he meant to attack them with their own arms (as they pretend), right reason. And, in order to this, he hints somewhat of the reason of the Christian religion and the holy sacraments of it; and finally to support the authority of the holy scripture; which done he thought there would be an end of Socinianism. There are some remarkable touches concerning Arminius and Calvin. He is manifestly of opinion with the former, but looks upon the other with respect to ignorant men to be more politic, and thereby in some respects fitter to maintain religion in them, because more suited to their capacity. But that is referred to art and not to truth, and ought to be ranked with the *pice fraudes* or holy cheats; which seems no good character of presbytery. It hath been known that the worst of heresies have been popular. There are some remarks upon the Roman Catholics and latitudinarians, but not so copious as upon other heads. There are also many touches about the heathen theology, a learning he much affected, tending to improve and clear the history of the heathen idolatry. There is little Criticism; but enough to show he was not a little concerned about style and language. The account given of Aristotle's logic is with more freedom than the humour of the university, among the seniors at least at that time, would have allowed. He chargeth it to be not only useless but pernicious to all true philosophy and knowledge; and proves it by the

vain offspring it had, meaning the schoolmen and scholastic disputation. As to his Philosophy, I must observe that there is a manifest track of the beforementioned design of writing the history of the ancient philosophy, with a comparison of the ancients one with another and of all with the moderns ; which had been a work which the greatest scholar might have been proud of. It appears here he was not a follower of Aristotle or of any other ; but, according to the justness of his thoughts, doth right to all, and, impartially to prefer truth, he applauds and censures clearly and (after his way of thinking) according to merit. He was not wonderfully instructed in the minute particularities of Cartesius's mundane system, nor was it very material for him or any one else so to be. The last head of those under which I have ranged his notes, is Politics, and dealt most in the state of nature and the original foundations of right and wrong amongst men ; from whence, as I touched before, he intended to derive his principles of government and law. This is chiefly levelled against Mr. Hobbes, and shows some sparks of that fire he was kindling to cast a better light upon nature's primordial laws than that author had set up. He slighted confuting that author whose frame leaned upon two or three principles, which when once proved false the whole structure must come down which that author had, with a world of wit and plausibility, erected thereupon. As for instance, against the opinion that a state of nature is a state of war, he opposeth demonstration that it is otherwise, being a state of pure amity and innocence. And it is this : Man entered not into society for fear ; for before there could be any causes of fear from one another, they joined themselves into little companies. Now the fault of Mr. Hobbes is, that he measures the primitive state by the humour of men now in society. There was that innate simplicity in men themselves which we admire now only in children ; and that which collected them first together was no other than what makes other creatures delight in their own kind, and herd together. So by degrees they came to the more close union of society ; and when the world grew straiter and men were put to greater shifts then they began to war. He is much against that piece

of Hobbsism, that the magistrate's power is derived from the people; and, for that reason, a supreme magistrate can do no wrong or, as Mr. Hobbes says, right and irresistible power are all one. The doctor shows that, under laws, the magistrate can do no more rightfully than a private person might do by the law of nature. As when a magistrate kills a thief, it is not by virtue of a power derived from the thief as one involved in the common submission; but he doth it in right of the injured party who, in the state of nature, might rightfully have done the same. Therefore as particular persons in the state of nature may do wrong; so when the magistrate (though enabled as to force under laws) doth the like he is equally a wrong doer. And for this reason the chief magistrate, under laws, may act as wickedly unjust as a private person, in a natural state, can. Therefore it is a pernicious opinion that the supreme power can do no wrong, and countenanceth tyranny, and especially that of assemblies who are most to call themselves the people. The doctor derided the opinion that the estimate of pure nature was to be taken from any persons adult, and educated in corruption and confirmed by practice, howsoever lawlessly jumbled together. All which bad customs reflecting upon pure nature, vanish, leaving only innocence in the room. And even his terrigenal men would be void of ambition or knowledge of wants; for even appetite is a result of experience. I do not remember much in his notes of the patriarchal or theocratical schemes of government; perhaps they lay out of the way of his inquisitions. He thought that adult persons were free from the duty of filial obedience; which is against the patriarchal scheme and, as I take it, right reason, which makes that duty co-equal with life itself; for he that hath a life lent him is a debtor for it all the days of his life.

74. I shall next touch upon some singularities of the doctor's fancy and humour, and some other circumstances relating to his character and studies; and so, passing over the divers stages of his life, as my memory serves defer what will be very melancholy as near the catastrophe of this design as I may. He was taken notice of in the university for venting new notions, as they are called, in his public exercises; for which I might appeal to his notes.

But that is so sorry a one that I shall lay no stress upon it ; and must profess myself under no small concern that all his books and papers fell not into my hands as those did. It had been a shrewd temptation to have snapp'd a parole or trust, prejudicial to no account but of the fire. But his humour was to hold all within himself till he was entirely satisfied that no slip or oversight might give disadvantage to his cause or himself ; lest any less guarded words or expressions should escape him. Nothing could have secured him better in that point than the participation of his friends. In a critic of works, an author hath but one eye upon his own ; but upon another's he hath two, and spectacles to boot. He was so deeply concerned for his cause as well as his own esteem, that he durst not trust even a friend with either. And he had a dread lest this little note-book, of which I have given an account, might happen to stray and fall into unknown persons' hands who possibly might misconstrue his meaning. In contemplation of which contingent, he wrote upon it this pleasant imprecation : "I besrew his heart, that gathers my opinion from any thing he finds wrote here."

75. He was always exceeding thoughtful and full of notions. He could not rest from working upon his designs and, at the same time so diffident of the event, that, between impulse and despair, he was like Mahomet in his tomb, or as they say Erasmus hung. Despair had the greatest influence ; and it sat so hard upon his spirits that he desired rather to be utterly forgot, than that any memorial of his dealing in literature should remain to show that such a one as he existed, which should not be proof against the teeth of the next ages. After he had the government of himself, he would not endure that a picture should be made of him, though he was much courted and invited by Sir Peter Lely to it. And, what was very odd, he would not leave the print in his bed where he had lain, remain undefaced.

76. As to his person and constitution, excepting only the agreeable air of his countenance and florid head of flaxen hair, I have little to produce that may be commended. His temperature of body and his austere course of life were ill matched, and his complexion agreed with

neither ; for his face was always tinted with a fresh colour and his looks vegete and sanguine, and, as some used to jest, his features were scandalous, as showing rather a madam *entravestie* than a bookworm. But his flesh was strangely flaccid and soft, his going weak and shuffling, often crossing his legs as if he were tipsy ; his sleep seldom or never easy, but interrupted with unquiet and painful dreams, the reposes he had were short and by snatches ; his active spirit had rarely any perfect settlement or rest.

77. The distempers which most afflicted, or rather frightened him, were gravel and rheums. The former held him in sad expectations most part of his life, and the other were most urgent towards his latter end ; and, in truth, were the occasion of his death, as will be showed afterwards. His worst indisposition lay in his mind, that is, an unhappy tendency to believe that in all incidents and emergencies the worst that in possibility might happen, would fall to his share ; and, accordingly, his mind always lighted upon extremes. He never had a fit of the stone in all his life, but voided plenty of red gravel which he was told was a symptom that no stone gathered. But that weighed little with him ; for every morning he speculated his urine and, as the use of splenetic folks is, called witnesses to see what quantities of gravel he voided. But such are the failings of sedentary persons and those who pass most of their time alone. A life of action allows not leisure to dwell upon such reflections. But this excuse the doctor had : his father died a miserable martyr to the stone ; and many think that disease, as well as the gout, often goes from father to son. But the doctor's humour in these respects was so extreme, that his foreboding of evils to come often put him into real passion. I have heard him, in almost agonising concern, say that it was not death that he feared but a painful life. I have hinted his corporal infirmity before. He had not the spirits of a good constitution, such as support men in actions of personal valour, and contempt of danger, though staring them in the face. He had a good share of philosophy, but not enough to fill up that blank in his nature. If there be a state wherein brutes have an advantage over human

kind, it lies in their nescience of evils to come, which protects them from anticipating calamities or, like men, whether certain or uncertain, make them present by imagination.

78. It is certain he was overmuch addicted to thinking, or else he performed it with more labour and intenseness than other men ordinarily do ; for, in the end, it will appear that he was a martyr to study. He scarce ever allowed himself any vacation ; what he had was forced upon him. There was no undertaking or occurrence, how trivial soever, whereof all the circumstances or emergencies that possibly might concern him were not valued and revolved in his mind, lest he should be so unhappy as to oversee any ; as if mere trifles had been cardinal to the interests of his whole life. If he was to ride to his father's house, walk to church or make any visit in town, he was in pain about the contingents and so low as to fret at the fancy he had that the people in the street looked on him. He was, in a word, the most intense and passionate thinker that ever lived and was in his right mind. I may be here told that if I think by these descriptions to exhibit the portrait of a great man, I am out of the way ; for what is less consistent with such a character than such timidities ? I answer that I am not giving the portrait of a perfect man ; and whoever pretends so to do is a foul flatterer ; and yet the character I give, is no small one because of a single infirmity natural and unavoidable. If any man, however in name and truth great, did not labour under some unhappy crisis of body of one kind or other which inclined him to transgress in the decorum of his actions, the doctor had much to answer for in being so singular ; but if it be (as certainly it is) otherwise, then all that can be required of a wise and good man is to know his foible and strive to correct it ; and if he hold himself firm against all manner of corruption which might grow up under it, and keeps down scandal, he is completely absolved.

79. That our doctor was well entitled under this apology I am fully satisfied. For, first, he understood himself and all his peculiar frailties perfectly well. And his friends could not show him more of himself than he knew ; and, if there was any difference, the weight fell on his

side who was sensible of more foibles in his nature than his friends could observe. But they could perceive him often struggling with himself to curb excesses growing upon him ; and he was either much overseen or surprised when he show'd any extraordinary concern or passion. And in his government of himself he succeeded so well that strangers seldom, or never, perceived his disorders : but among friends he was more off his guard, and gave some advantages against himself which served for raillery ; and that never displeased him. And he used his friends as spies upon himself to discover his own failings ; and for that end used to be very sharp upon the company ; and if any one that he might be free with had a sore place, he was sure to give it some rubs, and harder and harder till they must needs feel, and then they fell to retaliating which was his desire ; often saying that he loved between jest and earnest, to tell people of their faults, that they might pay him in the same coin by telling him his own. A small degree of acquaintance gave him an inlet to this kind of sport ; and he managed his freedoms with such fluent wit and respect, and with such decency of behaviour, that nothing was ever on that score taken ill of him. But what imports all this to the character of a person honourable by birth and not only studious but politely learned, and for his religion, justice, sobriety and good manners, unblameable ; and one that laboured all his life to make himself in all respects better, and to amend whatever he found amiss in himself ; wherein he was not unsuccessful ? And that carries more of merit than virtue itself, when there is no natural impulse or temptation to the contrary.

80. It will not be amiss to relate what I know of his character more particularly. As to his religion, his being in priest's orders speaks him to be of the church of England established by law ; although that rule hath of late undergone many scandalous exceptions. But he was critically orthodox and sincere, as the whole series of his life and actions plainly demonstrated. And his zeal was never more exasperated than against men busy in disturbing the orderly exercise of pure Christianity amongst us ; especially in our church, within the pale of which

iniquity itself could not find a plausible scruple either on account of doctrine or discipline ; for the sustaining of which his mind was chiefly at work. And to show his conscientiousness herein, I shall relate one passage. Sir John Cuts of Childersley, a relation of his, knowing that the doctor used to touch an organ, and for that purpose had one in his chamber, which was borrowed and not his own, very generously offered to make him a present of one that had stood in his house but never to any one's knowledge made use of. The doctor positively refused it, although in a free circumstance he could have been glad of a present so seasonable to him as that was. And he told me his reason was, that the room where the organ stood was called the chapel ; and he supposed the instrument had been intended for religious service and probably, at some time, made use of accordingly. And he said to me that "others might think of those matters as they pleased ; but he had and ever should have a great regard to them." He was so very nice that he could not bear that any religion, no ! not a false one, should be ridiculed, and scarce allowed the prophet's direction in deriding Baal's priests. For false religions are evidences of the true ; and if derision be put in common practice against the one it will soon be perverted upon the other. I need not, to complete his character, add any thing of his personal virtues, such as probity, temperance, chastity, common honesty, and justice. His enviers (for enemies he had none) had never any colour to insinuate any thing to his disadvantage. In short ; religion, justice, probity and humanity were his study, delight, and practice.

81. As to the public, which in his time began to be muddled with faction that through the carelessness of our government had got ground, and the artificial cry of popery and arbitrary power sounded loud in all corners, he showed an utter detestation of the faction and their rabble and could not but be angry when he heard what trouble they created to the state at that time. He was well apprized of the history of the then late troubles, and thought the like in danger to be repeated. He declaimed against all the proceedings, however popular, tending that way, as no less than the actions of stolid brutes, void of

thought and foresight of consequences that hurry themselves into perdition and ruin. Brute beast indeed (meaning the populace), but it hath horns and hoofs ; therefore stand clear. But it hath neither eyes nor ears to any purpose but finding the shortest cut to confusion and destruction of itself and everything else that stands in it's way. And the case is not at all mended by a set of fine appellatives ; for hypocrisy is commonly varnished with the like. The doctor, as I showed, had been a notable student in the qualities of powers in government, and really thought that of the two extremes, absolute monarchy or pure democracy, the former was incomparably to be preferred ; and since exorbitances will grow up in all governments, the rule of one hath fewer and those less oppressive than that of many. The great fault of monarchy is that it cannot be pure monarchy, but must be assisted in government by many, as counsellors, ministers, &c. and still of those the fewer the better even to a single viceroy, if he can well act the monarch. Solemn councils are formal and hypocritical ; and the best council is taken of a sudden as things offer. He used to say, that the arguments against monarchy were taken from the examples of bad kings. But who called up the examples of bad republics ? To the little finger of one of them the loins of a monarch were light. And weighing the happiness of people in general, there is no comparison between those which have been under monarchies and those under republics : so much do the former exceed. The grievances under monarchy fall mostly upon ambitious troublesome grandees, who are made amends by the advantages they have in high places. But all that while the people have their ease and quiet ; and in that one single article of suppressing civil war, the people, who are seldom undone any other but most frequently that way, are more than adequately compensated for all the evils of monarchy that speech-makers can suggest. The doctor was often copious in his discourses upon these subjects, and used to toss and tumble over his Grecian republics, under which no honest good man could serve and not be ungratefully used and finally destroyed. He had a just value for the temperate government of his own country, and abhorred as he did

the devil and his angels all those troublesome folks that laboured by altering to make it worse, and so finally to enslave the people.

82. But now I must withdraw from speculation into actual practice of government,—I mean that of our doctor as master of Trinity College. This preferment took him partly from his studies, but almost entirely out of those advantages which by a few friends he enjoyed: that is from a frequent, easy, free and pleasant conversation, into an anxious, solitary, and pensive course of life; which, with his austere way of ordering himself, drew upon him a most deplorable sickness; and that proved the ruin of all his powers both of body and mind, and then, by a slow, painful gradation, laid him down in the arms of everlasting rest. This track will lead me to consider the doctor now, not as a private person but as a magistrate, and in the exercise of no slight charge. He wanted the nervous capacity of his immediate predecessor Dr. Barrow, who was moulded for indefatigable labour; but he, on the contrary, was frail and infirm and of a nature that needed recruits and, to reinstate its forces, some measures of indulgence. He was temperate and regular, and, at chapel and meals, lived by the rule of his college. He kept a good table and always invited some of the fellows and fellow-commoners to dine with him; and all was well but as touching the bottle which he would not suffer to be too many for them. But if his line had been a little extended that way, it would have produced freedoms and dispersed those cloudy formalities which will fall between a superior and inferiors, unless the nerve is cut with the glass, and humour hath a free play. He wanted nothing more than a free society. The state (if I may so term it) of a master of a college is such that he can scarce look out or make a visit but with attendance and form; and in his college all are upon their guard where he is, and very few, if any, were thought capable of a true and familiar friendship that is clear of all design or project. He was always disposed to be free enough; but it never works well between inferiors and superiors. He had not learnt the art of some persons well preferred; I mean, to be careful of himself and to use the means of long life in order to make the

most of what is fallen to their share. Nor is it expected that one, in his place, should have put himself, as he did, under all the severities of a college life. But he considered that, having the charge of maintaining the discipline and order of the college, his demeanour there was not his own to dispose of but dedicated for example to others, and that he ought to perform strictly in his own person all that, by a common rule, he required of the scholars under him : especially in keeping chapel wherein he never (willingly) failed ; not in winter nor summer, whatever the season or how early soever the time was. Nothing but a sense of duty could have made him swerve from the interests of his health. And I am very well assured that he laid to heart, as they say, the good of the society and his duty regarding it, against which he slighted all considerations relating to himself.

83. There are some I have known, who make such trusts no incumbrance at all ; but let things pass as they may, and take little care but of their profits. But our doctor's principle was very different ; and that being derived upon a strict integrity could not be reconciled to the perfunctory ; but he thought himself bound to be active as well in keeping down disorders, always apt to rise under him, as also to see justice done to all the scholars. And in particular, he was resolute in adhering to the statutes of the college and to see that elections went fairly ; and, in the business of fellowships, that created him no small trouble. Every one knows that the pupil-mongers, often senior fellows, who were his coadjutors, would favour good pupils though perhaps no good scholars, in order to get them into good fellowships when others had better pretensions. This bred interest-making and, for the most part, brought importunities upon him ; as if by teasing and urging points might be gained. All which partialities were fastidious and hateful to him that had none, and whatever impetuosity he endured he never would consent to have a dunce preferred to a good scholar when the standing was equal ; but always declared to do justice to whom, upon account of better merit, it belonged. These were not slight cares to him that used to create great ones out of slighter occasions.

84. The court mandates for elections were very irksome to him. He knew well how those favours, by means of courtiers, were obtained; and often suspected that some of his seniors, when they could not compass their will of him another way, were instrumental in obtaining them. And he used to inveigh bitterly against that practice, declaring that whoever of them was guilty of it did not consider their duty and their oaths; and that it must in time bring the college to nothing; for if elections are for favour and not merit, who will think of rising by any means but courtship or corruption? And then flattery or money must supply want of parts, learning and sobriety; and the college once so filled will continue and avow the same methods: whereby gentlemen's sons in the college, under the influence of such a regimen, will be exposed to the mischiefs of idleness, expense, and debauchery, spreading in the university as bad as in any lewd corporation town. It is a common unhappiness that whoever opposes growing corruptions and abuses in societies shall have enemies enough. And no vexation of him be left uninflicted that might be raised up against a common enemy; and so hornets, when disturbed, become impertinent and endeavour to sting. As for the mandates, I believe they were too hard for him that had as good an appetite to disobey them as to his meals at high noon: but instead of that, and to ease his mind a little (for he lived in perpetual dread of mandates), but principally for the good of the college, he found out a way, by pre-elections, to obviate an inconvenience he could not resist. And thereupon, out of the several years, four or five one under another, he caused to be pre-elected into fellowships scholars of the best capacities in the several years; which made it improbable another election should come about in so many years then next ensuing; for, until all these elections were benefited, there could be no vacancy. And that broke the course of mandates whilst he lived. The doctor was solicitous about nothing more than the business of elections, which he thought the spring of good and evil to the college and (as he thought) in some degree to the public.

85. He had occasion enough to exercise all his philosophy; for without any thing else to make him uneasy, a

disposition in the scholars to make him uneasy had been sufficient. He had first laid down his own example of regularity and sobriety before them, which ought to have inclined them; and after that done and continuing, he thought it his duty to be informed as well as might be of what was outrageously amiss amongst them. He never connived at anything whereof by the duty of his place he was bound to take notice; but either by admonition or otherwise he did his best to amend it. He endeavoured also to make the discipline of the college as light and easy to the scholars as he could, by using private intimations and friendly advices tempered with mild reasonings and persuasion. But, for all that, he grew unpopular amongst them. They took him to be over officiously rigid and strict, saying, "it had not been so before." Youth will always mistake manhood to consist wholly in disorderly living, and that order and discipline belong only to boys. And, to show how much men they are, they behave themselves as some did to him contumaciously, and many of them contrived to affront him. I have heard it said, but not credibly, that one night as he was walking in the cloister, some lads, merry-making in an opposite chamber and fancying he came there to spy what was doing, came down and used him ill; but I never heard him speak of it as he did of most things that concerned him; nor did he make any inquiry about it, as he would have done, to discourage such affronts; therefore I do not believe the story to be true. This I was a witness of. One winter night, whilst we sat in his dining-room by the fire, the chimney being opposite to the windows (looking into the great quadrangle), a stone was sent from the court through the window into the room, and fell but a little short of the company. He seemed to take but little notice. We guessed him to be inwardly vexed; and soon after the discourse fell upon the subject of people's kicking against their superiors in government, who preserves them as children are preserved by parents; and then he had a scroll of instances out of Greek history to the same purpose, concluding that no conscientious magistrate can be popular; but, in lieu of that he must arm himself with equanimity.

86. When the doctor entered upon the mastership of

Trinity College, the building of the great library, begun by his immediate predecessor Dr. Barrow, was advanced about three quarters of the height of the outward wall; and the doctor most heartily and diligently applied his best forces towards carrying it on; and, besides his own contributions, most of his friends and relations upon his encouragement became benefactors; the particulars whereof will appear in the accounts of that noble structure. The tradition of this undertaking runs thus. They say that Dr. Barrow pressed the heads of the university to build a theatre; it being a profanation and scandal that the speeches should be had in the university church, and that also be deformed with scaffolds and defiled with rude crowds and outcries. This matter was formally considered at a council of the heads; and arguments of difficulty and want of supplies went strong against it. Dr. Barrow assured them that if they made a sorry building they might fail of contributions; but if they made it very magnificent and stately, and at least exceeding that at Oxford, all gentlemen of their interest would generously contribute; it being what they desired and little less than required of them; and money would not be wanted as the building went up and occasion called for it. But sage caution prevailed, and the matter at that time was wholly laid aside. Dr. Barrow was piqued at this pusillanimity, and declared that he would go straight to his college and lay out the foundations of a building to enlarge his back court and close it with a stately library, which should be more magnificent and costly than what he had proposed to them, and doubted not but upon the interest of his college in a short time to bring it to perfection. And he was as good as his word; for that very afternoon he, with his gardeners and servants, staked out the very foundation upon which the building now stands; and Dr. North saw the finishing of it, except the classes, which were forward but not done in his time; and divers benefactions came in upon that account; wherewith, and the liberal supply from the college, the whole is rendered complete; and the admirable disposition and proportion on the inside is such as touches the very soul of any one who first sees it.

87. I mentioned before some uneasiness between the

doctor and his seniors about elections; and since those matters sunk deep in his mind and some have thought fit in print to refer to them, I shall relate all I know, or have credibly heard, of that matter. There was much of contingency in what happened; for two masters, Pearson and Barrow, preceded our doctor, and both being more addicted to books than business or government were contented the eight seniors should determine affairs, and at meetings readily joined in what they agreed. This easiness had bred a sort of expectation that what the seniors had pre-determined about elections, leases, &c. should pass current; it being enough to make the master acquainted or to show him their opinions. But our doctor did not understand this method of proceeding, and consulted his own reason and would be guided by that and that only whatever the rest thought; for he looked upon himself as one intrusted and bound by duty and oath to act for the good of the college, and for that was answerable to his own conscience; and nothing but reasoning and convincing his judgment would induce him to comply. This behaviour seemed a little new to them who had been used so much to dictate as scarce to endure contradiction; and they used all means, civil and uncivil, to reduce this master under the like *réglement* as the former. It is hard to allege this extraordinary conduct and to rest it upon pure parole; therefore I shall add one instance of fact which the doctor himself told me. Once at a meeting, the seniors had agreed upon a business; but the master did not think fit to join with them to establish it. They most importunately urged; as if their unanimous accord were reason enough to satisfy him. But it was all one; he thought it unreasonable and positively refused to concur. At last one of them said, "Master, since you will not agree, we must rise and break up the meeting." "Nay," said the master, "that you shall not do, for I myself will rise and be gone first." And accordingly he rose and went into his chamber, leaving them in a sort of consternation; for they knew that without their master they could do nothing at all. After a while they thought fit to drop their huff and, in a proper manner, sent and desired him to return to them; which he did, and they went on with other business.

88. I never heard him mention any other sort of affront done to his face but this ; and it seemed to grieve him because it was during his weakness, of which I am about to give an account ; for while he was vegete and strong he could contend, and sustain his authority by the force of his reasons ; and those he never failed to bestow fluently. But after his first attack from the fit, his body was weak and his utterance imperfect and, what was worst of all, passions apt to rise in him, which caused his epileptic fits to return ; whereby he was disabled as to all serious debate and contention. And I do believe that too much advantage was taken of his weakness ; for, being near his end, he ordered that he should be buried in the outward chapel, that the fellows might trample upon him dead as they had done living. This was spoken in the anguish of his mind when he could judge and would be just ; but wrangle he neither would nor could because of the hideous consequences ; and possibly some things might pass in his absence contrary to his mind, and on such occasions he used to throw out such tragical speeches. But we are a little too early for such melancholy notes.

89. I am next to give in the history of the doctor's fatal sickness, so often touched upon, with the presumed occasion, accession, and conclusion ; and what should that be but the end of all things death ? I have already accounted for his thoughtful and studious course of life and habitual fulness and care in his mind. But after he came into a post of magistracy, all his solicitudes exasperated, and the ordinary refreshments which he sometimes met with before failed. And I must add, that as his course of life so his diet was severe to himself ; for he was always sober and temperate and scarce spared the time of eating from thinking. After morning prayer and a solitary dish of coffee, he retired to his study at the end of a gallery, and there he was fast till noon, unless college or university affairs called him out. After his meals a meagre dish of tea, and then again to his post till chapel and supper ; and then, if he had any friendly conversation, it was still in a studious way, that is discoursing of abstruse matters which, however pleasant to him, kept his head at work. His chief remissions were when some of his nearest relations were

with him or he with them, and then, as they say, he was whole-footed ; but this was not often nor long together. Some of them used to be free with him and, in his own way, between jest and earnest tell him he must indulge a little, go abroad and be free with a glass of wine with good company in his college as he used to be with them ; that his self-denials would endanger his health, and the like. To which sort of discourse I have heard him return a tradition of Bishop Wren who, when he was told he must not keep Lent, his body would not bear it : "Will it not ?" said he. "Then it is no body for me." And the doctor by his life of perpetual thinking had settled his mind in a resolution so stiff that he often seemed rather morose and humoursome than, as his constant profession was, to be governed by reason. When his friends have been importunate with him to say (in the common forms of free converse), "Why? and for what reason ?" He hath answered, "Reason is to govern me, but my will is a reason to every body else."

90. It was very remarkable that nothing of any evil which the doctor at any time in his life feared ever came upon him ; but somewhat else, and of which he had no imagination or dream, and indeed the worst, I think, that could befall human kind ; that is to be paralytic and epileptic. If, in his anticipating mind, a thought had entered that he had been obnoxious to those distempers, I cannot say how he would have comported under it ; for nothing could come nearer the quick with him than a distemper that insulted his faculties of reasoning and judgment, wherein his mind must suffer as well as his body. The distemper came upon him by these steps ; first, a cold, then an unusual quantity of rheum discharged at his throat, and the tonsil glands swelled, and, at length, his uvula ; and, as the course of these colds is, a deal of spitting and venting of rheum at his mouth, followed. Here is nothing extraordinary but what happeneth in colds, and being assisted with warm humectations and repose, the disease itself, allowing time for it, makes the cure : and what could be done more reasonably than to encourage that proper discharge of a peccant humour which nature itself, and in the way of a common catarrh, had found out ?

But that which most concerned the doctor was the swelling of his uvula, which continuing over long, gave him, that always anticipated extremes, an apprehension that he must at length submit to have it cut off. And this operation was so dreadful to him, that, to prevent it, he must needs apply to the most noted physicians in the university; and they considered the case and prescribed as they thought proper. But their endeavours succeeded not, but in all appearance (if any judgment may be made by events) proved the ruin of their patient. And this may be a warning not to seek extraordinary remedies in ordinary cases.

91. I fear that, in my report of this case, I may offend the medical faculty; but I am not free to suppress or palliate matters of fact which were of the last concern to my subject. If one may be so free to interpose a censure, their fault (if any was) lay in meddling at all and not sending the good man home to his mother to be nursed. But instead of that, partly as I guess to humour him and partly to put in practice their university learning, fell in *pesle mesle* with their prescriptions to divert this flow of rheum from discharging at his throat and mouth, and to send it another way. But first, as they said, the cause must be removed; which was to be done by rectifying his digestions that rheums might not breed so copiously; and then they might safely stop the vent. And in order to this, a circulatory course (as they called it) of physic was prescribed enough to have purged a strong man from off his legs; and the doctor most scrupulously conformed; for he had a great regard to all kinds of university learning, and believed that of physic to have more logical conclusions in order to cures than their own faculty, elsewhere, will allow them. After this career performed, the prescription was to take amber as tobacco in pipes, and to have certain astringent powders in quills blown into his mouth upon his *uvula*. The unctuous smoke of the one joined with and held the other so fast, that nothing might pass in or out that way. It was not considered all this while that the patient with his cathartic courses was grown so weak and feeble that, in all likelihood, rheums must breed in his body rather than abate.

92. But they had a resigned patient to themselves, than

whom a tamer subject to make experiments upon could not have been found. It is certain that, by these methods of physic, smoke and powder, the doctor was reduced to extreme weakness and, finding no amendment, ventured to come up to his friends in London. They knew nothing of his having been ill; for in his letters he complained of nothing but a cold he had got. They were amazed to see him come helmeted in caps upon caps and meagre as one newly crept out of a fever. His regimen was no less changed than his habit and countenance. He must stir little abroad and for the world not after sunset, though it was July, (which was the only time of his friends' refreshment abroad) for fear of increasing his rheums. He must drink nothing small nor much of any thing. Grapes and peaches, being full of humidity, were poison; but nuts and dry bread toasted, without stint; and all the while at fit periods, the pipes and powders came; and one or other must blow for him. His friends had no notion of this latter medicament; nor, as I guess, his physicians; otherwise they had not prescribed nor we suffered the continuance of it. After the doctor's death, I told the case and method to Dr. Lower, the prime physician of his time,¹ and he said that he would undertake, by the smoke of amber only, to put the soundest man in the world into convulsion fits.

93. The doctor's friends, having all this wonderful alteration before them to observe, concluded him gone of the spleen, and that the best physic for him was society, plentiful diet, and turning abroad in the air when we could get him so to do; and not without perpetual raillery at his caps and new discipline so contrary to what he was always used to. Upon this account he was taken down to Hammersmith, a country-seat of his best brother's; and in the space of a month from his first coming up, purely by his coming into his friends' way of living, between London and the country, a perfect cure of him was made; and he made no scruple of eating, drinking, and airing as they did. His volumes of caps were disbanded; his

¹ He succeeded to the practice of Dr. Willis, and was himself succeeded by the famous Radcliffe. (*Wood's Ath. Ox.*, vol. ii. p. 857.)

countenance grew florid and his ordinary briskness and good humour returned to him. Thus (under God) by pure relaxation and diet (all medicines apart) this egregious cure was wrought. In this state he returned to his college with good counsel enough to indulge as he had done with us; and for doctors, to use only the famous three, Diet, Quiet, and Merriman. But, as to his amber and powders, which he cared not to leave wholly off, his friends pretended not to judge of them but thought them to be whims of the physicians and as chips, neither evil, nor very good.

94. After the doctor was returned to his college, his rigours to himself and austere course of life also returned; and his rheums beginning again to flow, by like advice as before, cathartic, amber and powder were reiterated in full force; and all without the least regard to that successful experiment that was made upon him in London. So that his body growing weaker and weaker, and his disease stronger, the humour having no vent at his mouth as it naturally tended (for all those parts were closed) broke out in his brain; and threw him down all at once in a desperate apoplexy. The manner of its access was this. The masters and seniors thought fit to revive an antiquated discipline, according to the statutes, of admonishing disorderly scholars in order (without amendment) to expulsion; and in the morning the doctor came out from the meeting (where probably he had been a little roiled) to perform his duty upon two scholars then brought to be admonished. And it was observed that he admonished with more than usual earnestness and acrimony in his speech; for the lads were much to blame and behaved themselves very contumaciously. When the body is weak passion is usually strong, and divers things concurred to stir it up in him which probably touched the trigger and, while he was speaking, down he dropped. It is possible that without these circumstances of emotion of his spirits this had not happened at that time; but then it is more than likely that on some more unhappy place or occasion, as preaching or in some other solemn presence, the like had happened; but here it was almost at his bed-chamber door. He was immediately taken up, wherein

the two scholars were very assistant, and carried to his bed, there being little hopes of life in him. But the physicians were immediately sent for, and due methods were used as in cases of apoplexies.

95. After the ordinary tormenting operations were over, he recovered a little sense but was excessive drowsy; and it was judged that unless that symptom could be conquered he must drop from them. Whereupon, by direction, followed perpetual noise and clangor of one sort or other, to keep him awake. There was concert of tongs, firegrate, wainscot drum, and dancing of curtains and curtain rings, such as would have made a sound man mad. It was presumed that, if he fell asleep he would never wake more; so his instruments were plied until his good mother (who was immediately sent for) came to take care of him. She was a magnanimous lady that had nursed a large family old and young for divers years, and, in experience, was more than a match for a college of physicians. She saw in what torment her son lay drowsy to death and gave attention to what the physicians said; but all the while admired the music they made. She desired of the physicians that her son might have a little sleep. "No madam," said they, "for, if he sleeps yet, he will never wake again." The good lady had no longer patience but set up her maternal authority, and told them flat and plain that her son should have rest and that quietly for full two hours, and she would answer the consequences. He was her son and she would have the nursing of him. Thereupon she dismissed the musicians, and desired the learned and unlearned (for there were many eavesdroppers and news-carriers in the room) to withdraw and leave her. She kept with her only the maid she brought; and they two went to work, ordered the bed and laid the poor patient in such a posture as she thought most proper for his taking rest; and then, sending her maid to wait without, she sat herself down at the bed's head and all was hush for the full time. Sometimes she peeped in upon him and found no reason to retrench any part of it. After this she opened the curtains and called in the physicians and the rest that had a mind to be there, and showed them how easy and quietly he lay and breath-

ing as nature required. His countenance had a good colour and his face was composed, which, before, was distorted in divers manners with his eyes staring like one of the Furies. "Now, doctors," said she, "what think ye?" "But, Madam," said one, "will he wake?" "You shall see," said she, and gently jogging him by the arm as he lay, he awoke and opening his eyes knew several there and spoke to them. The physicians were exceedingly surprised; for they expected great difficulty in waking him and had been consulting of methods how to do it.

96. Now the mine was fired, and all the havoc it could make upon a poor mortal bulwark of animated earth determined; and what remained was only ruin and confusion as the blast had left it; never to be recovered into its former order and strength again. The fit went off but left the doctor under an infliction of a desperate numb palsy all on one side of him; which the learned call an *hemiplegia*. He kept his bed for some considerable time before he ventured to rise; and then was able, only with help of a friend and crutch, to crawl a little about the room. His mouth and face were drawn up on the lame side, and his left arm and leg altogether nervous; and neither did him much service as long as he lived. But, in time, the weak leg served just to lean on, while the other got a little forwards; but itself was dragged after. He dropped his crutch, but never ventured to walk far without help at or near his elbow. He told me the images in his mind during this infliction, as far as he could remember them. First, during his admonishing he perceived himself to lean towards his left side; and the leg that should have sustained him, seemed to have lost its bone and to be like the finger of a glove; by which it was plain to him that he must fall, and accordingly he gave way to it. After this he remembered nothing at all of what had happened to him, until, by help of his mother, he had taken a little rest. And then, in a dreaming manner, his conceit was that he had got a strange leg in bed with him and was much perplexed which way to get rid of it; whether he should call to have it taken away or not: and it was a great while before he could bring himself, even awake, to own it.

97. It is an uneasy task, but (according to the profession I make of truth for better or worse) necessary, to show the miserable decay of the doctor's thinking and memorial capacities. What is the difference between manhood and puerility, but that the former hath a large stock of useful memoirs and also strength habituated to action ; which the latter wanting, runs after levities and any thing for variety without choice, unless appetite or inclination (and even that flows from experience) draws it? Suppose a hurricane to fall upon a sound man's memory and obliterate great part of his collections and confuse the rest, as one may imagine a fine poem wrote upon the sands and much ruffled by the wind. There may be enough left to show it had been good sense, but the dignity of the verse was lost. So the man would lose his judgment of true values and relapse into a sort of puerility ; but still his moral character, that is, his will to do good or evil, remains unaltered. This was the case of our good doctor. The seat of his memory was ruffled by the disease falling upon his brain and nerves, which had made such havoc that he had no firm notion of himself or of any thing ; but had his experience to gather and his understanding to frame over again. After he could lie awake and think, I guess he had some reflection that he had been over severe with himself by too much hard study and abstemiousness, which, possibly, had brought that disease over him ; and then fancied he must cure himself by a course clean contrary ; and accordingly he thought that now he must be merry and jolly. Pursuant to this (conjectured) model, the company that assisted about his bed to entertain him must find merry tales to tell, and if a little smutty the mirth paid for it. The lighter sort of books and frivolous comedies were read to him, and he heard them with notable attention and, at the quaint passages, was unusually affected, and often laughed but (as his visage was then distorted) most deformly. He fancied to admit a young gentleman of the college, one Mr. Warren, to be his reader in ordinary, who was very useful during his weakness and deserves to be remembered with much respect.

98. After he was enfranchised from his bed, and had the entertainment they call walking about his chamber,

and divers friends and acquaintance came and stayed with him, he gathered some little strength. But his levities still continued; and he used to please himself with rehearsing paltry rhymes and fables; and what with difficulty of utterance (for his speech was touched and never perfectly recovered), and what with his unseemly laughing, it was long before he could get any thing well out; and at last he made but broken stuff of it. All this was inexpressible grief and mortification to his friends, seeing that dismal alteration. They had known his genius bright, and, in his health, solemn, grave, and instructive; and his mirth, when it happened, not without a flow of pleasant wit and, as it ought to be, ever decent and without offence; far from all suspicion of a possibility that such levity of humour and discourse should ever appear in him. He seemed as a high-flying fowl with one wing cut; the creature offers to fly and knows no cause why he should not, but always comes with a side turn down to the ground. The doctor had some remembrances of his former forces when he could mount up and fly; now, his instruments on one side failing him, he was forced to deal in low concerns and reptile conceits that scarce rose from the ground.

99. The doctor lived to recover his faculties of mind and powers of his body in some measure; and had it not been for one immense malady that attended the palsy and held him down, there had been hopes of a competent recovery; and that malady was epileptic fits. These appeared soon after the apoplexy went off. They were gentle at first but continually invigorated, and every one of them gave him a twitch nearer his grave. And these were esteemed the result of amber smoke. There happen many apoplexies and palsies; but few come off with an epilepsy. These fits came, nearly, after a month's interval; but were not strictly prejudicial or lunar (as old women dream). Any disorder or intention of thought, a little anger, cold or disappointment, brought them, which made him seek to be as quiet and still as he could. They dejected his spirits to a very great degree and deprived him of all comfort; and one great unhappiness was that in his fits he could not help biting his tongue, and that kept back the recovery of his speech. He found that strong wines helped to put off a

fit, which made him when he suspected one to desire it as a condemned malefactor does a reprieve, and accordingly he used the strongest sherry, glass after glass, which formerly he would have thought more than a cup too much ; but it was a reasonable recruit of his spirits, which by such fits were of course overthrown. As the doctor's strength of body decreased so the malignant fits returned thicker, but more languid; for there was scarce left substance enough to sustain the rancour of them. After they had brought him almost to forget the world and to spend most of his time upon a couch, which was after near five years from his first stroke, there was very little left for them to do.

100. I must here do a piece of justice to the doctor and his memory, by affirming upon my own knowledge that, during the extremity of his mental weakness, his religious principles, resolution in justice, and good will to the world, which I may call universal charity, continued as entire and inviolated as they were in the strongest moments of his life and, respecting his external behaviour, much more zealous than before. Such a trial coming over a man as this was, if he had worn a mask, or had had the least tinct of hypocrisy, it had gone off and the pure man appeared as he was. And the consciousness of a well-spent life was of great service to him ; else, as happens to weak women and others in like case, he might have fallen into melancholy, dejections, misconstructions of Providence, despair, and the like extremes of weak minds. But, as I said, whatever the state of his body was or his capacity of study, his will and moral determinations were not in the least wavering. There never fell a word from him tending to complaint or discontent at his condition ; he would freely relate what he felt and how and no more. He governed himself as well as he could ; his submission was absolute and his patience exquisite.

101. I have had two observations upon the doctor's case. One is that, in the progress of his disease, as his body grew weaker his judgment grew stronger ; so that his levities wore off and he became again sociable. After he retired to the college he dealt in the college affairs with a sense clear enough, though he could not debate or contend,

because of his fits which any earnestness brought upon him; and they continually left him weaker. After the first year of his illness he behaved himself with gravity and respect; and the chief failing that appeared in him was an over repetition of gratulatories and compliments, and a greater inclination to silence than formerly he had. The other observation is, that strength or weakness of body hath nothing to do with the will and morality in relation to duty and honesty. Nay farther, that strength of parts or understanding, which in itself is not free, doth not control the will which is free. And here we are not to argue moral honesty or knavery in any man on account of his strength of body or mind; for it is found that the best parts are often joined with the most corrupt natures, witness the famous heretics, politicians, and malefactors. Therefore they are much to blame who argue against any thing of duty from the examples of any persons strong in wit and invention; who, with all their sophistry, may have a corrupt will. Every man hath wit enough to be upright. It may be said that Providence hath dispensed strength of mind unequally; and the like may be pretended of form, beauty, and wealth. But no man can complain for want of free-will whereby he is justified. Men may be forced to act but never to will ill things. Accordingly the doctor, to his last behaved himself in his college in maintaining the statutable order, steadily doing justice to the deserving scholars and discouraging others. Nor was it possible, by any means fair or foul, to move or corrupt him to any act against his judgment or conscience.

102. But now, before we part, I shall add a few words about the doctor's manner of passing his time in his weakness. After he was able to go abroad and to use his coach, which he did not without much trouble and assistance, he went sometimes to visit his mother near Bury, where he passed his time most easy and to his content, because it was void of all manner of business. He there made the proofs of his ability to preach, and with much ado was got into the country pulpit. His matter was very plain and pious; but he laboured under such an invincible want of utterance, and what he did speak was with so much pain and deformity as rather mortified than edified the congreg-

gation; and at length he was forced, for fear of his fits, to leave off abruptly. He desired also to resume a little study and the use of his pen; but his fits said nay. Therefore, finding that all preparation towards any actual exercise of his duty threw him into fits, he was forced to be contented with having a good will and made his utmost proffers towards it. His mother parted with her woman to be his constant attendant and nurse, and she commonly travelled and went abroad with him; and, without so good a servant and friend, he had passed his time very painfully. He often went to London and resided at his prebendary; which was a pleasing variety to him. All the service his friends could do him was to visit and indulge and converse merrily and freely with him. He did not well bear long visits; especially of those whom he did not much like. If he found a disposition to fits, he called for wine which re-invigorated his spirits. His best diversion was variety; and he had most of that in London; for he could creep about the cloisters to prayers and to visit his neighbours.

103. In these marches the beggars had found him out and marked him for their own; and he always carried a cash on purpose for them. They knew his motions as well as if they had been his domestics. He scarce ever failed of giving every one that asked, something. Always at his taking coach and lighting his attendance was great; and whoever was with him must stay till the dole was finished. Sometimes, if he fancied them good people in a garb of humility, he would ask their prayers, which they plentifully bestowed, in his hearing at least; and probably with a true zeal for he was the best master they had. These charities were public, and all besides what must necessarily be so, he affectedly concealed. By his last will he left a full fourth part of all his estate to be distributed to poor people, which, by his best brother, whom he made his sole executor, and those that came under him, was done. His devotions, besides the public service of the chapel, and churches where he was (which he never failed if he was able), were no less affectedly secreted than his charities; for they were always in perfect privacy and by himself. He had certainly a sound mind; would to God his body

had been so too! About three or four years after his first illness, he made his last retirement to Cambridge and seemed to bid all his friends adieu ; and there he passed the sorry remainder of his life. It was most alone by himself, for his mother was dead and his most esteemed friends engaged in great dealings above. He declined college business which, because of his too sensible incapacity, he found he could not administer to his mind. He took most to silence, and, however seldom yet when he did speak it was much to the purpose, and often very pathetic and, perhaps, being offended, resentingly sarcastic. He frequently wrote to his best brother, which he could with his sound hand do at times, and as he found himself easy. I have seen some of those letters, which, as I remember, were in a fervent or rather flaming style, upon the subjects of his esteem and value and his own wretched unworthiness. But they are all gone to the fire or swept aside and out of my reach. His weakness of body continually increased and his fits came on quicker. His chief ease was the couch, where he usually lay expecting fits and wishing for death, the only means to free a limpid soul, as his certainly was, from that dungeon of flesh in which he lay stuck fast as in a mire. At length, in one of his fits as was supposed, without discovery of any pain, about April 1683, he went out rather than died. He lies interred in the ante-chapel, as he directed in his lifetime and, as was noted, nothing significative but J. N. upon a small stone over him. He was desirous, if he could not leave somewhat behind him worthy to be remembered, of which (as I have shown) he never was satisfied, not to be remembered at all.

104. It may be conjectured that if he had married it would have preserved him longer, for the cares of a family are frequent and importune enough, but interrupted. These, compounded with his studies, had relieved both. And he was not at all averse to it, for he used to say that a rich wife was a good benefice ; and he found no topic more for his purpose in rallying his friends than that. Once he observed that, at one of his best brother's christenings, there was a grievous clutter about gossips, entertainments, nurses, &c. He comes to his brother, and

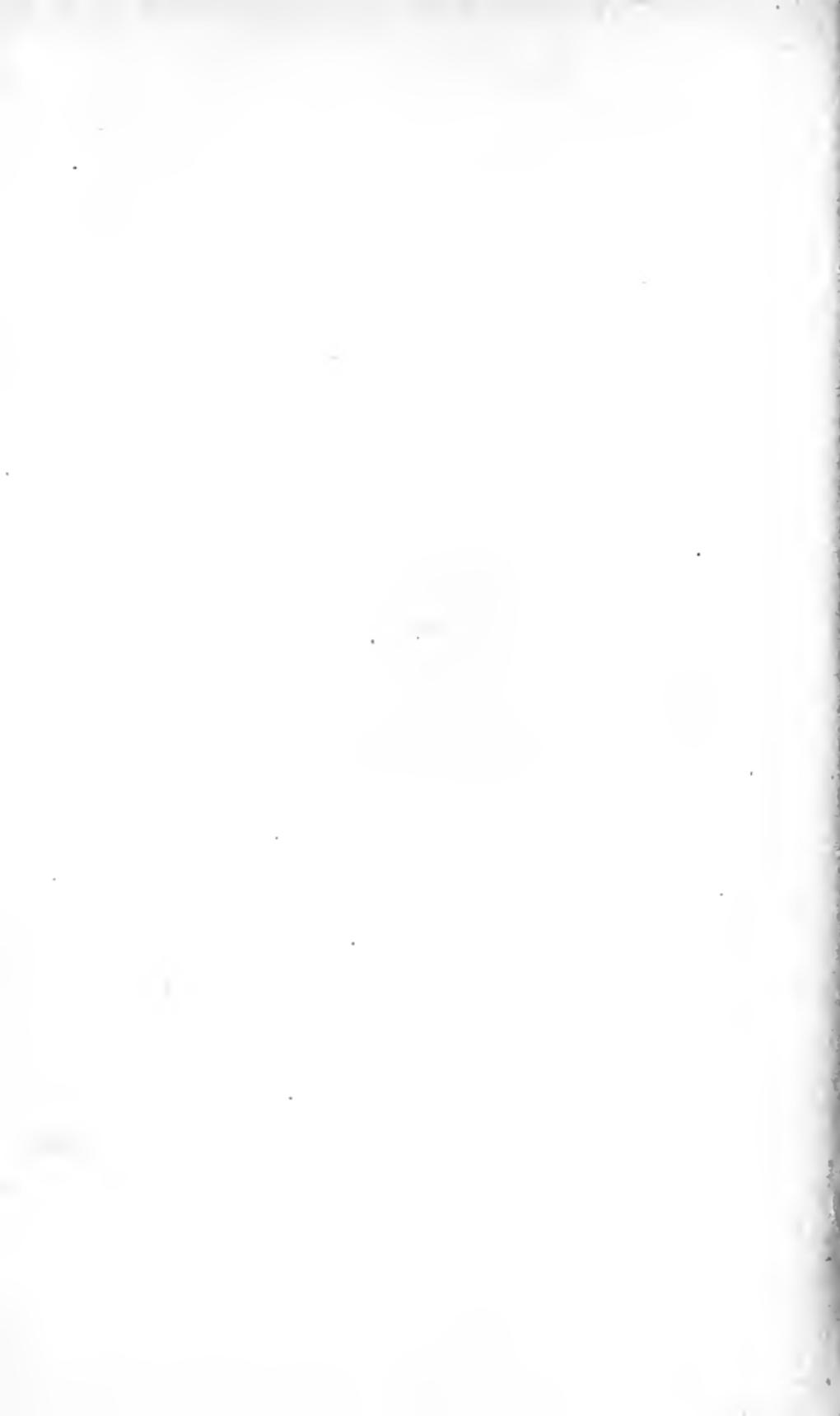
"Seriously," said he, "and as I am a living man, brother, there is more than one would imagine in that saying,— 'Any thing for a quiet life.'" In a word; however the doctor pleased himself with whetting his wit upon his married friends to such a degree as they scarce bore, they yet were pleased: for his girds were oblique and touched to the quick, but not directly exceptionable; and they commonly brought a shower of like hail upon himself.

105. I know nothing of exception justly taken to him during his whole life, although he was a scholar almost universally known and observed, unless it were after he came to the government of the college; and then only for his rigorous exactation of duty and order in the scholars and severe justice in elections. As to the former, he was taken for an innovator but by the disorderly only; and those carried it so far as to say, his passionate severity (which they called malice) brought his disease upon him. For the other; although the seniors were much piqued at him for not always agreeing with them, it was only among themselves and in particular cases. Neither side carried it farther into malice and rancour, whence open faction and party-making might flow. The doctor contented himself with the ordinary allowance, and never made any encroachments upon the rights and revenues of the college nor squandered their monies in decorations, or otherwise, after his own fancy or advantage, to the oppression of the fellows. If any have done otherwise since, let them go away with the honour of it. And as to the late controversies between the master and his fellows, in which they have on both sides alluded to our doctor's case, it is certain it signified no more to the questions of right depending amongst them, than to the monarchy of Spain. For what was it to the purpose if Dr. North vexed the fellows or they him, and in some particular instances only, and those not referred to the profit of either but only to government in the college? but so people in difference are apt to scold. I might here insert their several prints; but, having declared the whole matter in itself impertinent and withal not touching our doctor in any respect, I hope it may be excused. And here I leave the good doctor, freed from

his unhappy case of flesh,—but, withal, a bright example of orthodox religion, learning, justice, and good will,—to his eternal rest, and assurance of the rewards of well doing.



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